

**EARLY ONENESS PENTECOSTALISM,
GARFIELD THOMAS HAYWOOD, AND THE INTERRACIAL
PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE WORLD
(1906-1931)**

by

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A Thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Philosophy, Theology, and Religion
College of Arts and Law
The University of Birmingham
Birmingham, England
February 2011

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Abstract

This thesis examines Oneness Pentecostalism from 1914 to 1931 via its initial interracial vision, the ministry of Garfield Thomas Haywood, and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. It attempts to rectify a one dimensional historical perspective which has ignored the significance of race in the restorative framework of the early movement, tracing its interracial fervor to the Azusa revival and its resistance to the Parham influenced U.S. south. Fresh historical detail informs assessment of the 1906 Azusa mission founding of the interracial PAW and Oneness Pentecostalism's most obscure, yet vital early leaders, J. J. Frazee and E. W. Doak. All key leaders are studied from the perspective of the movement's major centers, especially the centrality and history of Haywood and Indianapolis as its foremost epicenter. Its interracial authenticity is examined in relationship to its pre-Oneness PAW context, the battle for the Assemblies of God, and the transition of the PAW from Trinitarian to Oneness Pentecostalism. Investigation of the 1924 PAW racial schism, impact, and withdrawing White segment reveals diffusion and the proliferation of separatism and independency. The final analysis summarizes the movement's region by region development and global spread by 1930 and examines the successes of early Oneness Pentecostal missionaries.

Dedication

To the life and ministry of
Stuart Greene Norris (1901-1990) & Jessie Dunn Norris (1901-1994)

Pastor & Pastor's Wife
Midway Tabernacle/ Apostolic Bible Church
St. Paul, Minnesota
1934 – 1990

Founders
Apostolic Bible Institute
St. Paul, Minnesota
1937

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to so many who have helped make possible the research goals of this doctoral thesis, but above everyone else, Rebecca Lynn French, my cherished wife, deserves the highest accolades for believing in me and supporting me in these years of study. Special thanks go to my son Ryan Anthony and his wife Rachel Rene, their truly treasured Julia Lynn and Talmadge Joseph, my son Jonathan Austin and his wife Vera, and my son Nathan Andrew for their personal sacrifices which have made this venture feasible. And I owe a great deal of thanks to my parents by marriage, O'Neil and Jenean Smith, my sweet mom, Christine Leona Grant, and precious parents Alvin and Betty French. I want to pay a very special tribute, too, to the memory of my precious grandmother Ida French without whose spiritual blessing I would have been a most desolate soul indeed.

I hasten to acknowledge that none of this work would have materialized without the excellent tutelage of Allan H. Anderson, my supervisor at the University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England. I certainly owe him a tremendous debt of gratitude and appreciate his able assistance and support more than I can say. Others, too, through the course of these months of study have proven to be indispensable inspirations along the way, including the more recent scholarship and leadership of Mark Cartledge, also at the University of Birmingham, as well as the continued insight derived from previous guidance and ongoing scholarship of Edith L. Blumhofer and J. Julius Scott at Wheaton College and Wheaton College Graduate School in Wheaton, Illinois.

Topping the list of those to whom I feel most indebted for both friendship and support is preacher *par excellence* O. C. Marler and his dear wife, Joan. Old lions and brave hearts have oft with skilled wisdom and the faith of Christ moved mountains. Such, indeed, are the inspirations received also in the years past from the ministries of C. E. Sturch, Raymond Roach, S. G. & Jessie Norris, Robert A. Sabin, Glenn L. Cox, and most recently the encouragement and support of Wayne and Patsy Huntley. I especially revere the support and encouragement received through the years from the incomparable Nathaniel A. Urshan.

The awesome and memorable love and support of the members of the First Pentecostal Church of Wheaton, Illinois can never be forgotten. And the financial and spiritual backing of Calvary Tabernacle and the many students of Indian Bible College, Indianapolis, Indiana, and pastor and president, Paul D. Mooney means the world to me. And the same heartfelt appreciation goes to the Rock Church and Apostolic School of Theology, Sacramento, California, and the pastor and president, Nathaniel J. Wilson. Also, special thanks are due my secretary during my years at Indiana Bible College, Jennifer Mast.

And along the way quite a number of folks went out of their way to assist me in whatever way possible and I sincerely want to thank them at this time. These include, though not exclusively, Alexander Stewart, Sherry Sherrod DuPree, David Bundy, Wayne Warner, J. L. Hall, David Reed, Darrin Rodgers, RaNae Vaughn, Gary Garrett, Phillip Dugas, Larry Booker, Harry Scism, Samuel Smith, and Marlon Millner.

Talmadge L. French, February 2011, Raleigh, North Carolina, USA

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List of Abbreviations

AAFCJ	Apostolic Assembly of the Faith in Christ Jesus
AAI	Apostolic Archives International
ACANJC	Apostolic Christian Assembly of the Name of Jesus Christ
AC	Apostolic Church
ACFCJ	Apostolic Church of the Faith in Christ Jesus [Mexico]
ACJ	Apostolic Church of Jesus
ACJC	Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ [originally – Apostolic Churches of Jesus Christ]
ACOP	Apostolic Church of Pentecost [Canada]
AFC	Apostolic Faith Churches [Hawaii]
AFMCG	Apostolic Faith Missionary Church of God
AG	Assemblies of God
AsCJC	Assemblies of the Church Jesus Christ
ALJC	Assemblies of the Lord Jesus Christ
AMA	Apostolic Ministerial Association
AOHCG	Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God [originally – Ethiopian Overcoming Holy Church of God]
ABC	Associated Brotherhood of Christians [originally – Associated Ministers of Jesus Christ]
AMJC	Associated Ministers of Jesus Christ
BMA	Bethel Ministerial Association [originally – Evangelistic Ministerial Alliance]
BT	<i>Blessed Truth, The</i>
BWC	Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ Worldwide
CGA	Church of God (Apostolic)
CGCJA	Church of God in Christ Jesus (Apostolic)
CGSC	Christian Gospel Spiritual Church [Mexico]
COGIC	Church of God in Christ
CJC	Church of Jesus Christ, The
COOLJC	Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith
CLGPGT	Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth
CLJC	Church of the Lord Jesus Christ
CPC	Christ Pentecostal Church [Yugoslavia]
CSOP	Center for the Study of Oneness Pentecostalism
CO	<i>Christian Outlook, The</i>
DPCM	<i>Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements</i>
ECSA	Evangelical Church in the Spirit of the Apostles [Russia]
EDN	Enumeration District Number – <i>U.S. Census</i>
ETBCAF	Emmanuel Tabernacle Baptist Church Apostolic Faith
ECJC	Emmanuel’s Church in Jesus Christ
EMA	Evangelistic Ministerial Alliance
FCGCJN	Free Holiness Church of God in Jesus’ Name
FPC	First Pentecostal Church of Jesus Christ
FUCJCA	First United Church of Jesus Christ Apostolic
GAAA	General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies

GCGCA	Glorious Church of God in Christ Apostolic
GR	<i>Good Report, The</i>
IPC	Indonesia Pentecostal Church
JOAC	Jesus Only Apostolic Church
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
LWC	Light of the World Church [La Luz del Mundo - Mexico]
MDS	<i>Meat in Due Season</i>
NBCGCP	New Bethel Church of God in Christ (Pentecostal)
NIDPCM	<i>New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements</i>
OSI	Oneness Studies Institute
PAJC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ
PAW	Pentecostal Assemblies of the World
PCCNA	Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches of North America [originally – Pentecostal Fellowship of North America]
PCAF	Pentecostal Churches of the Apostolic Faith
PCI	Pentecostal Church, Incorporated
PHCG	Pure Holiness Church of God
PMA	Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance [renamed (1932) – Pentecostal Church, Inc.]
PT	<i>Present Truth, The</i>
SJC	Spirit of Jesus Church [Japan]
SPS	Society for Pentecostal Studies
TJC	True Jesus Church [China]
UPCI	United Pentecostal Church International [originally – United Pentecostal Church, Inc.]
VW	<i>Voice in the Wilderness, The</i>
WG	<i>Witness of God, The</i>

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Definitions and Parameters

The making of Oneness Pentecostalism, like that of the broader movement to which it is a prominent part, was largely dependent upon the motifs of restoration and revelation within its earliest development. In turn, these elements greatly impacted its own theological receptivity to an early interracial impulse which largely shaped Oneness Pentecostal ideology for more than a generation. Yet it may very well have been equally impacted by the nature of the theological isolation and rejection experienced as a result of its theological position, although it developed parallel to, if isolated from, broader forms of Pentecostalism.

The salient and emotive remarks of G. T. Haywood, for example, in the December 1916 issue of his influential periodical *The Voice in the Wilderness*, contain an excellent metaphor descriptive of the Oneness movement. They reveal his response to the events of October 1916 – the resulting traumatic expulsion of the Oneness ministers from the young Pentecostal ministerial body in St. Louis known as the Assemblies of God:

There were quite a number who withdrew from the Council at the close of the session, because there was a spirit of drifting into another denomination manifested, when they began to draw up a ‘creed,’ which they termed ‘fundamentals.’ It is no doubt the same thing under a different name. I have no complaints to make, but by the grace of God *I shall endeavor to press on with the Lord “without the camp, bearing His reproach, for here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come.*¹

Oneness Pentecostalism, the term which has become the most popular designation for the movement, and the term of preference for this research, is known also as the

¹ G. T. Haywood, “The St. Louis Council at St. Louis, Mo,” *The Voice in the Wilderness*, no. 19, December 1916, 1, quoting Hebrews 13:12. Similarly, Haywood’s 1919 composition “O Lord, How Long?” echoes this theme: “They daily misjudge me and sneer, scoff and scorn; Reproach for Thy word and Thy name we have borne; Yet, Lord, we do love them, forgive them their wrong.” *The Bridegroom Songs*, G. T. Haywood, ed. (Indianapolis: The Voice in the Wilderness Publishers, 1926), 15.

Apostolic Pentecostal and as the Jesus' Name movement, equally acceptable common self-designations. From its inception the movement has, indeed, remained "without the camp," as an enigma, and as a Pentecostal antagonist to the broader movement, experiencing both imposed and self-imposed isolation from the religious mainstream. This has been due largely to rigidity in its doctrinal deviations regarding the Trinity and soteriology. But it must be noted that Haywood's use of this Old Testament analogy encompassed more than the mere theological rejection of the Assemblies of God, but the racial rejection, as well. They were, in fact, inextricably linked.²

Some months prior to Haywood's remarks and the AG's fated October expulsion, Thoro Harris, a famed songwriter since 1902, now living in Chicago, also startled his AG Council compatriots by converting to the Jesus' Name movement in 1916. That year he wrote "Baptized in Jesus' Name" as a rallying cry for the budding Apostolic movement, and then penned his most familiar "All That Thrills My Soul" in 1917. His baptismal song was published by leading Oneness proponent L. V. Roberts in Indianapolis on the front page of the first issue of his periodical in 1916, *The Present Truth*. "Today I gladly bear the bitter cross of scorn, reproach and shame," the song begins, "I count the worthless praise of men but loss, baptized in Jesus' Name."³

² The terms 'Unitarian' and 'Jesus Only' are neither tenable, nor common self-designations, of the movement; cf. Amos Yong, *The Spirit Poured Out on All Flesh: Pentecostalism and the Possibility of Global Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Publishing Group, 2005), 205-6, who observed that Oneness affirmations distinguish it "from the Socinian and modern Unitarian denials of the Trinity,..." and served to reject "both Arian and modern theological liberal rejections of the deity of Christ,..."

³ Thoro Harris, "Baptized in Jesus' Name," copyright 1916, musical score, L. V. Roberts, ed., *The Present Truth*, no. 1, 1916, 1, with Roberts evidently publishing only one or two issues. The song's subtitle was "Acts 2:38." Of Harris, the slave term "mulatto" is used, with his mother White, in the *1880 US Census*, District of Columbia, Enumeration Dist. #3, A48. Although other records list Harris as White, see, *1910 US Census*, Cook Co., Chicago, IL, 9A; *1917-18 WWI Registration Card*, No. 3711, he was often referred to as a Black songwriter. Cf., www.cyberhymnal.org, www.larriedee.com and Lysa Allman-Baldwin, "Black History, food and wine in Eureka Springs," Part 3, *The Examiner*, www.examiner.com (each accessed September 3, 2010); Harris lived in

Although a movement now numbering in the tens of millions, these early Oneness proponents, not unlike their Pentecostal counterparts, rather “gladly” identified such “reproach” with the suffering required for His Name, a theme which would loom large in Jesus’ Name Pentecostalism. And, as Haywood vividly symbolized, their very identity was defined by their suffering “without the gate.” They welcomed their plight, more or less, as the necessary spiritual badge of validation required in what they understood as the defense of restored truth.

1.1.1 Difficulties Inherent to Pentecostal Definition

In Pentecostal definition, Pentecostal-Evangelical assessments have typically stressed ‘classical’ essentials, as in Menzies’ 1971 research: “...the ‘baptism in the Holy Spirit,’ is believed to be evidenced by the accompanying sign of ‘speaking with other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.’” Essentially, the dominant Evangelical, fundamentalist, and, ultimately, Assemblies of God definitions, as well as dominant history, were usually viewed as adequate and representative, as, more or less, “a microcosm of the Pentecostal movement as a whole,” and even “the most representative of the Pentecostal organizations.”⁴

Such a starting point is, obviously, a problematic definitional standard, not only for Oneness Pentecostalism, but for large segments of diverse Pentecostals, not the least of which are the burgeoning autochthonous Pentecostals worldwide. Also to the point, Assemblies of God and related denominational histories, until Blumhofer, were typically critical and biased in their analyses of Oneness origins, and only a scant number of Oneness histories existed, none of which were broad, in-depth studies.

Eureka Springs, Arkansas from 1932 until his death in 1955; see, also, “All That Thrills My Soul” was written in 1917, but copyrighted by Lillenas Publishing Company in 1931.

⁴ William W. Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 9-10, 177-227.

These earliest discussions of the movement refer to Oneness Pentecostalism as “The New Issue,” setting the discussion in the ‘negative’ terms of the AG perspective, as having come after another divisive issue, that of sanctification, which split Pentecostalism by 1910-1912.⁵ The opponents, therefore, set the definitional parameters. For example, they inevitably mischaracterize, or over-emphasize, the emergence of the Oneness movement in terms of a basic penchant for “new revelations,” to the exclusion of equally compelling, alternate explanations.

Beyond this, the challenge of circumscribing Pentecostal category placement and definition in this manner is displaced, to some extent, in David Martin’s sociological analysis of Pentecostal identity and trajectories. Martin suggests a definitional shift away from placing “the expansion of Pentecostalism under the rubric of American hegemony,” noting, as well, the potential for an evangelical mimicking of the same “incline and decline” trajectory of “Liberal Christianity.”

Evangelical Christianity (of which Pentecostalism is a version) belongs to a phase in the process of modernity, with the corollary that the Pentecostalism now so expansive in the modernization of the developing world is likewise a phase Insofar as Pentecostalism spreads it does so principally through a charismatic movement partly inside the older churches and partly ‘breaking bounds’ in every sense.⁶

⁵ Menzies, for example, frames the events in terms of Oneness “hysteria,” *Anointed*, 114; cf., Carl Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1961), 191, “...a movement that brought forth a ‘revelation’ that almost tore the movement apart,” and *God in Three Persons: A Trinitarian Answer to the Oneness of ‘Jesus Only’ Doctrine Concerning the Godhead and Water Baptism* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1959); Frank J. Lindquist, *The Truth About the Trinity and Baptism in Jesus’ Name Only* (Minneapolis, MN: Northern Gospel Publishing House, 1961). The earliest doctoral study, from a fundamentalist position, had a very limited influence, James D. Rider, “The Theology of the ‘Jesus Only Movement,’” Doctoral Dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1959.

⁶ David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 2002), 2-3, and the 250 million estimate for worldwide Pentecostalism, 1; cf., also, the reference to “varied purposes of journalist rag-bags like ‘fundamentalism’,” in the explication regarding Pentecostal expansion, x.

A more recent, and far more “inclusive definition,” however, is being suggested, for example, by David Barrett’s new *World Christian Encyclopedia* and by such global studies as that of Allan Anderson in *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*. Beyond the earlier categories of ‘Pentecostal’ and ‘Charismatic,’ the broad frame of reference for these emerging definitions make room for the inclusion of large segments of “Independents,” including, notably the African Independent Churches and the Han Chinese Churches, which are Pentecostal-like, sharing the emphasis of empowerment and gifts, if not tongues.⁷

These additional categories of ‘Pentecostal’ groups, according to the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, boost the combined total to more 614 million, and thus the basis for the oft-cited statistic of 600 million for the 2006 Azusa Centennial. And, importantly, these totals include the diverse Oneness Pentecostal global constituencies, a characteristic feature of most assessments of general Pentecostalism’s numerical strength. The number of Oneness Pentecostals, above and beyond the hard data of 27.4 million reported for specific groups by the Oneness Studies Institute in 2009, now exceeds an estimated thirty million.⁸

⁷ *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 34:1 (Jan 2010), “Status of Global Mission, 2010,” 36; Barrett’s totals includes multiple non-tongues categories, such as “pre-,” “post-,” “quasi-,” see, David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, “Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 27:1 (2003), 25, 13; Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1, 10-11; cf., *Enrichment*, Spring 2006, Vol. 11, No. 2, “The Azusa Street Revival,” 16; and *Operation World*, Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, eds. (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press, 2001), 755-765, with less optimistic totals which exclude ‘Independents.’

⁸ “2009 Report of The Oneness Studies Institute,” May 2009, OSI, 1, 4-5; The constituency analysis is based on data for 620, of a known 750, Oneness groups worldwide, as well as Independent, or non-affiliated, Oneness Pentecostals. The largest Oneness groups in the U.S. include the United Pentecostal Church International and Assemblies of the Lord Jesus Christ (White), Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith, and Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Worldwide (Black), and Apostolic Assembly of the Faith in Christ Jesus

Somewhat enigmatically, Oneness Pentecostals fall within the range of ‘classical’ Pentecostal definition with respect to the emphasis on tongues. Therefore, on the one hand, Oneness Pentecostals are accurately depicted as ‘classical’ regarding evidentiary tongues. It must be observed that, on the other hand, by such a definition, perhaps as few as a third of Barrett’s Pentecostal totals fit such a strong tongues categorization.⁹

Yet from almost every other perspective, the Oneness movement appears to be one of the most obvious examples of the difficulty of designating precise theological parameters to Pentecostal definitions. The observation that “Pentecostals have defined themselves by so many paradigms that diversity itself has become a primary defining characteristic” may, in fact, be nowhere better epitomized.¹⁰

1.1.2 A Consideration of Theological Parameters

This is representative of the fact that the Oneness movement’s own definitive core is *theological*, deriving its distinctive identity from outside the mainstream, beyond the shared ‘experiential’ Pentecostal elements of Spirit and gifts. And the precursors for such a primacy of ‘theological’ conviction and constructs were interwoven in varied ways into the fabric of the Pentecostal experience, long before the emergence of Oneness ideology in 1913, as seen in Pentecostal themes of “Back to the Bible,” Jesus-centered worship,

(Hispanic). Outside the U.S. the largest constituencies are in China, Ethiopia, Colombia, Mexico, Indonesia, India, and the Philippines, and most recently, Nigeria and Uganda.

⁹ *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 2nd edition, David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, eds., vol.1 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), “Table 1-5,” 16-19. Although Oneness groups are often not so identified, an analysis of the listings, though quite ‘dated,’ includes approximately 18 million Oneness Pentecostals. Additional Oneness listings are included in “Table 1-6a,” 20-24, with newer stats for the TJC (1.83 million) and AWCF (6.63 million), *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 30, No. 1, January 2006, 28-29.

¹⁰ Anderson, *Introduction*, 10.

and the power of Jesus' Name.¹¹ These, more or less, latent elements were uniquely, and zealously, radicalized by Oneness reordering and redefinition.

Descriptions, rather than definitions, are the usual methodology of observers of Pentecostalism. The chief self-descriptive identifier for Jesus' Name Pentecostals is that of "Apostolic." That is, they are, first, experientially connected to the Spirit-life of the apostles, but not without the essential life of the Word. In this way Oneness Pentecostalism is a prioritization of the Name of Jesus rooted in pre-Nicene Old Testament symbolism, intent upon capturing the essence of God's absolute "Oneness" in the person of Jesus Christ.

A reordering of Pentecostal themes produced a logical basis from which it is easiest to grasp the framework of Oneness Pentecostal theology. Therefore, the key to the Oneness theological position is the interpretive understanding of several critical scriptural 'proof texts' regarding the nature of God and Christ, such as the biblical expression "God was manifest in the flesh." According to Oneness thought, Jesus is nothing less than the human manifestation of the One Mighty God, the Old Testament 'El Shaddai,' and, thus, literally "God with us" in the Incarnation. Therefore, this view sees Jesus as the Son, in that He is a man, but as the Father, in that He is the one God. The man Jesus is understood as being indwelt of the Father, not of a second divine person.

Similar reasoning is applied to the significance of Jesus' name. Being the God-Man, or God as a man, the result of a supernatural uniting of the divine and the human 'natures,' His exalted name "Jesus" is viewed as the "Name which is above every name." Not to be missed is the fact that, while Oneness theology emphasizes the preservation and

¹¹ The origin of the movement in this Thesis is dated to 1913 and to the popularly held origins at Arroyo Seco, California. Precisely understood, the period April 1913 to April 1914 is that of its initial emergence, which included its epiphany-style emergence, immediate rebaptisms and emerging strategies for implementation, impacting even the emerging and formative Assemblies of God.

importance of the deity of Jesus, this is a form of sequential modalism, a theology which does not preserve the Trinity of persons. Instead, Jesus is viewed, not as merely a portion, or ‘Person,’ of, or in, the Godhead, but as *all* of God Himself, “*the* God of the whole earth,” that is, the one “Mighty God.”¹²

Obviously, there is virtually zero allowance is made in Oneness thought for creedal formulations, Nicene or otherwise, regarding a divine ‘ousia’ (Gk), or essence, within the varied ‘hypostasis’ (Gk), or ‘Persons,’ or any of the doctrinal formulations of church councils through the centuries. Father, Son, and Spirit are not viewed as separate Persons in Oneness theology, but, rather, as distinct manifestations. As with the Hebrew ‘Shema,’ the New Testament declaration “God is one” is taken as an absolute one, a profundity, in which Jesus, though genuinely “man,” is the one God, the “I Am,” “the Almighty.”

Although most criticized for its scarcity of Christological solutions to questions regarding genuine interaction and relationship between the natures, versus persons, as well as between the manifestations, Oneness theology, nevertheless, conceives of only one divine person, manifested as Jesus, in Whom dwells the *totality* of God, or “all the fullness of the Godhead bodily.”¹³ Deity, or divinity, in Oneness perspective, therefore, is a singular being, an unshared essence, demonstrating that Oneness theology does not so much ignore Nicea and Chalcedon, or any of the councils, for that matter, but rather disagrees with them.

Related theologically to these issues of theology proper and Christology are parallel restorative doctrinal beliefs within the Oneness movement, characteristic elements which are derived from the uniquely ‘modal’ conclusions that the Father and

¹² 1 Timothy 3:16; Matthew 1:23; Philippians 2:9; Isaiah 54:5; Isaiah 9:6 (AV).

¹³ Deuteronomy 6:4; Galatians 3:20; 1 Timothy 2:5; Exodus 3:14; Revelation 1:8; Colossians 2:9 (AV).

Spirit are divine expressions of the person (singular) of God revealed in Jesus, the union of the Divine and the human in one person. These additional identifying doctrines to the “Oneness of God” are the importance of water baptism in the singular name of Jesus, rather than tripartite, speaking in tongues, and the experiential unfolding of these elements within the Acts 2:38, three-fold paradigm.

1.2 Definition in Context – Restorationism

Dear Brother Haywood: Praise God! Of a truth God is most graciously blessing his people who are willing to walk in the light.
LEE FLOYD, Kinder, La.¹⁴

Haywood’s signature designation for this Oneness version of the miracle of incarnation, the popular Oneness express “O Sweet Wonder,” has become one of his own dramatic, and theologically indelible, imprints, from the poetic lines of his most famous hymn, “Jesus the Son of God.”¹⁵ From the mindset of early Pentecostalism, rooted in an oft articulated restorationist vision, the wonder of new light via the Spirit’s eschatological working was a guiding theological impulse, never more obvious than within Oneness Pentecostal circles.

Therefore, for early Oneness Pentecostalism this principle of “oneness” clearly became a restorative theological foundation, thought to permeate both the divine reality, “I and the Father are one,” and the church, “one, as we are.”¹⁶ So, they argued, surely ‘Oneness’ believers would, of all people, insist upon the ‘oneness of believers’ themselves—one God, one church—the foundation for interracial worship.¹⁷ In fact, in spite of the ultimate disintegration of racial unity within the later movement, Oneness

¹⁴ *Voice in the Wilderness*, G. T. Haywood, ed., No. 18, October 1916, 1.

¹⁵ G. T. Haywood, “Jesus, the Son of God,” *The Bridegroom Songs*, copyright 1915, 5.

¹⁶ St. John 10:30; 17:11 (AV).

¹⁷ In this research both of the terms African American and Black are used within the American context, with the use of Black, the broader designation, dominating. Within the international context only the common designation of Black is used.

Pentecostals did accomplish a fulfillment of their interracial aspirations perhaps more thoroughly and aggressively than any other segment of early Pentecostalism, losing sight of the restorative impulse much later than the movement's mainstream.

In Oneness Pentecostalism, at least in its earliest days, and nowhere more ably articulated than in Haywood's writings, the special nature of the *name* "Jesus" corresponded 'in mystery' even to Father and Spirit, so as to be "the mystery revealed" and "the Name of Names,"¹⁸ the paramount proof of One God. This essential theme is linked, from the outset, to a Pentecostal 'revelation' and 'restoration' of truth, often succinctly articulated: "To get in the Church triumphant you must go the water way!" Here Hattie Pryor's beloved hymn, popularized by Haywood's oft-used songbook, demonstrates the early correlation of these essential elements to 'restoration' in the Oneness mindset, to the fulfillment of prophetic latter rain, "evening time" events. "*It shall be light in the evening time.... It is the light today, buried in His precious name.*"¹⁹

The new Pentecost, then, was seen as jumping the intervening years back to "the way the apostles trod." Though shaped by identical motifs and impulses as the broader movement, it extracted its unique identity and self-understanding circumscribed by a distinct 'theological' essence. Nowhere was this more pronounced than with respect to the Name of Jesus. Haywood's 1916 song, "The Name of God," is clearly characteristic of the way in which "the Name" was emphasized as a latter day revelation. The repeated final line emphasized this 'truth' as a focus of worship: "Jesus is... the name of God!"

Manna true came down from heaven, Bearing with it Jesus' name,
Held in mystery through the ages, Now 'tis spoken clear and plain;
Christ in you, the hope of glory, Lord of heaven, Lord of hosts;

¹⁸ G. T. Haywood, *The Voice in the Wilderness*, no. 19, Dec. 1916, "The Name of Names," 1, 2.

¹⁹ *Bridegroom Songs*, "The Water Way," Hattie E. Pryor, copyright 1919, 20-21, chorus.

And in Jesus is the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost.²⁰

The restorative impulse and motifs were certainly not uncommon throughout the earliest Pentecostal period. B. F. Lawrence, one of the first to chronicle the Azusa Street revival, echoed shared sentiments of a dominant early Pentecostal restorationism in his 1916 history, *The Apostolic Faith Restored*:

The Pentecostal Movement...leaps the intervening years crying, 'Back to Pentecost.' In the minds of these honest-hearted men and women, this work of God is immediately connected with the work of God in New Testament days....They do not recognize a doctrine or custom as authoritative unless it can be traced to that primal source of church instruction, the Lord and His apostles.²¹

Blumhofer, who argues that a "strong restorationist component" was at the "heart of the definition of Pentecostalism," suggests that the Oneness Pentecostals are best understood as simply "more zealously restorationist...than the mainstream."²² Along with the 'restoration' of 'tongues,' power, and healing to the church, they were simply including in the restoration the additional theologies which they viewed as equally Biblical—the power of Jesus' name, the Deity of Jesus, and the absolute Oneness of God.

1.3 Garfield Thomas Haywood

A major focus of this thesis encompasses the role of the Black Oneness pastor in Indianapolis, Garfield Thomas Haywood, as a preeminent leader within the early Oneness movement and as the chief architect of the post-Azusa Street revival interracial dream of

²⁰ "The Name of God," G. T. Haywood, with Fern Reneick Smith, 12, stanzas 1 and 5; see, Zechariah 14:7; Note the stanzas in the quotes which follow.

²¹ B. F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis: Gospel Publishing House, 1916), 12.

²² Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism*, vol. 1 (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), 15, 237-238; Her history contains a sizeable amount of data on Oneness history; cf. S. L. Ware, "Restorationism in Classical Pentecostalism," in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*, Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 1019-1021; J. L. Hall, "The Restoration Impulse: The Shaping of Oneness Pentecostalism," Symposium on Oneness Pentecostalism, St. Louis, MO, January 11-13, 1996.

the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. Throughout every segment of the emerging worldwide movement Haywood was viewed as a champion of the cause, the defender and preacher par excellence of the emerging Oneness theology, as well as the foremost leader in the advancement and success of the movement's early interracial success.

Gary B. McGee's popular history, *People of the Spirit: The Assemblies of God*, for example, although it does not reference the Oneness movement per se, does honor the solitary ministry of G. T. Haywood. As such, eighty eight years after Haywood's "without the camp" article concerning the Assemblies of God, McGee refers to T. K. Leonard's derision of Haywood in 1916 General Council Assemblies of God debate. Leonard denounced the Oneness doctrine as "hay, wood, and stubble," raising the temperature of the debate a few degrees, but in doing so, demonstrating just how closely Haywood and Oneness theology were perceived.

McGee states observantly, though, that the "influence of Haywood on the Assemblies of God, however, could not be put down so easily." This is all the more amazing, considering Haywood was never even a member of the AG. Yet he was so highly respected that he preached throughout AG circles, was a "featured speaker at early General Councils," and ultimately was "granted the privilege of speaking from the floor" of this all White organization.²³

Then, as now, Haywood's leadership, especially as the consummate representative of the Oneness position, was unparalleled. Although Blacks were unwelcome in the Assemblies of God, Haywood had long been a part of the lesser known, and largely

²³ Gary B. McGee, *People of the Spirit: The Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 2004), 204-206 (a 665 page popular history). Haywood stated that he was never credentialed, which is verified by the AG ministerial rosters, *The Voice in the Wilderness*, vol. 2, no. 9, 1921, 36, cited in Morris E. Golder, *History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World* (Indianapolis, IN: by the author, 1973), 36. Leonard references 'hay, wood, and stubble,' an allusion to the passage in 1 Corinthians 3:12.

western and northwestern regional group, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. A lesser known fact is that the PAW was, originally, an Azusa-based organization, which was interracial, though largely White, yet readily credentialing Blacks and Hispanics.

The PAW intentionally served ‘under the radar,’ so as to avoid the appearance, and the negative taint, of ‘denominationalism’ and ‘creed’ making. Later, this stance quickly dissipated during the years in which it became obvious that the fellowship was adding to its unique interracial character the theological distinction of becoming the first Oneness organization, with the conversion of its leaders, many of its ministers, and the withdrawal of all opposition.

Nevertheless, historical and doctrinal details aside for the moment, Haywood fought long and hard to bring the Assemblies of God into the Oneness camp, in spite of the fact that, in 1914, it was a newly formed, intentionally ‘lily White’ Pentecostal ministerial body, licensing only White ministers. He, evidently, had hopes for its interracial future, once it was secured for ‘the Jesus’ Name message.’ But, with the loss of the Assemblies of God to the cause, that eventuality would become, instead, the notable historical course of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.

Garfield Thomas Haywood, one of Pentecostalism’s most extraordinary ministers, an African-American leader shoulder to shoulder with William J. Seymour and Charles H. Mason, distinguished himself as preeminent among the founders of Oneness Pentecostalism. And G. T. Haywood came to be synonymous with interracial Pentecostalism, the Oneness message, and, certainly, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.

1.3.1 Haywood, Indianapolis, and Interracial Pentecostalism

Growing very rapidly under Haywood’s leadership, the Indianapolis church, by the time of his 1915 rebaptism, was one of the largest Pentecostal congregations in the

country. His “Apostolic Faith Assembly” was also the most fully interracial Pentecostal congregation in the movement, “at one time... about sixty percent black and forty percent White.”²⁴ In light of the cultural norms, the limitations placed upon Blacks of the period, and the alarming rising presence of the KKK in Indiana, Haywood’s racial accomplishments were staggering.

Few ministers, regardless of race, were more beloved and admired for depth of ministry and leadership. In spite of its miscarried hopes, the Oneness movement’s seven year ‘interracial era’ and earlier interracial activities were entirely counter-cultural, inspired to success by a yearning for a return to a ‘new Pentecost,’ certainly, but also by the Pentecostal example of Haywood’s life and ministry. Indianapolis became the focus of the fulfillment of the dream of interracial unity.

As Seymour’s influence in the Azusa Street revival had caused the epicenter of Pentecostalism to shift to southern California, Haywood’s international influence resulted in the Oneness movement’s shift, from the west and northwest, to Indianapolis and the Midwest. Seymour evidenced little organizational vision, except in the early efforts of the PAW, and Mason’s accomplishments in advancing African American ministries, via the Church of God in Christ, were evidently sufficient.

Haywood represented, probably as early as 1911, a schism within the Black Pentecostal leadership, due to the Durham controversy regarding sanctification, and thus a concern for both Seymour and Mason, being a visionary in the attraction and assimilation of large numbers of African Americans into a new theological force committed to interracial unity. This unity served to advance his immediate recognition as

²⁴ G. T. Haywood, “The Convention,” *The Voice in the Wilderness*, no. 18, October 1916, 1: “There were about 1,000 or more present, besides the throng outside looking in at the windows.” Senate and Eleventh was enlarged by 1919 to seat 1,000, yet Apostolic Faith Assembly outgrew it, G. T. Haywood, *Brief History of Christ Temple Church*, December 1924, cited in Golder, *Haywood*, 37; see, also, Golder, *Haywood*, 11, regarding the racial mix.

a major force for the Oneness movement, early in 1915, and solidify his wide influence throughout the earliest Oneness networks, the most prominent headed up by Ewart in the west and Opperman in the south. And, regardless of later racial vacillation, Haywood's prominence and leadership respect, nonetheless, never waned, even among Whites, even in the south. By January 1919, the headquarters of the most viable Oneness organization, the PAW, moved to Indianapolis under Haywood's oversight.²⁵

The Indianapolis church was a model of the vision to unite the entire body, of the longing to see the reversal of the interracial failures of the Azusa Street revival, and thus demonstrate the true source of the Oneness movement, the original "Pentecost." The failures of Azusa Street hit 'close to home' for him, not only in the exclusionary policies of the Assemblies of God, but as felt so acutely in the actions at Azusa by William H. Durham, his doctrinal 'finished work' hero.

African Americans like Haywood and Lawson trusted that their own Apostolic heirs to 'Pentecost' would do better. R. C. Lawson, one of Haywood's most notable converts, and later founder of the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith, lamented their ultimate failure to do so: "We trusted that the apostolic people would rise to redeem man by example and precept. It is all right to sing and shout and pray and preach loud, but what this poor world is longing for is living the real love of God. For, after all, the greatest badge of discipleship of the Master is love."²⁶ Yet a belief in just such a 'badge of discipleship' among the interracial Oneness Pentecostals is precisely what drew an ever increasing number of Black adherents to the Oneness movement.

G. T. Haywood, for many reasons, including his multiplicity of talents and exceptional abilities, and his quintessential Indianapolis church, has remained, literally, a

²⁵ James L. Tyson, *The Early Pentecostal Revival* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1992), 196-197.

²⁶ Robert C. Lawson, *The Anthropology of Jesus Christ* (Piqua, OH: Ohio Ministries, 1925, revised 2000), 34.

‘legend’ within the movement, and a symbol almost ‘larger than life.’ He displayed a singular courage amidst extraordinary odds against hope in the effort for interracial equality within Oneness Pentecostalism. That alone placed him in ‘hero’ status, to Black and Whites, throughout the entire constituency.

He has been described as a preacher’s preacher, and a teacher par excellence, sought after the world over. He has been noted as having an exceptional pastor’s heart. Renowned Haywood convert, Morris E. Golder, said of him: “I can recall Bishop Haywood coming to our home, riding on a bicycle, to pray.... Holding us on his knee while praying.... He was a dynamic preacher, preaching always under the anointing of the Holy Spirit. His voice rang like an expensive cathedral bell when he spoke under God’s unction.”²⁷

In addition, Haywood was an exceptional musical talent, composer, and poet, providing the church with some of its finest hymns, some still quite familiar, and many which were very much the grand sermon.

Jesus, Thou art the good Shepherd, Our gateway to enter in
Prophet Thou art, King and High-priest, Who sacrifice made for sin
Altar Thou art, and the incense, Thou art the Lamb that was slain
Jesus, Thou art the Temple, The Vail that was rent in twain.²⁸

1.3.2 Haywood’s Impact on Black Oneness Pentecostalism

The related issue, which analysis of historical detail helps inform, has to do with the transcendent qualities of early Oneness leaders such as Garfield Thomas Haywood. A complete accounting of the era re-adjusts the comprehension of their roles, and of their impact, in the crucible of history, enlightening aspects of the era heretofore unrecognized. For example, E. S. Williams, former Superintendent of the Assemblies of God, in an

²⁷ Golder, *Life*, 70, 6.

²⁸ G. T. Haywood, “Jesus Our All in All,” 2nd stanza, copyright 1916, *The Bridegroom Songs*, G. T. Haywood, ed. (Indianapolis, IN: The Voice in the Wilderness Publishers, 1926), 34. Haywood reported in 1916 that he was “putting out” the first edition of this songbook, *Voice*, no. 18, October 1916, 4.

interview with James J. Tinney, referred to Haywood, quite inaccurately, as “a White man’s Negro.” Such a characterization is indicative, though, of the failure of many in early Pentecostalism, especially in the AG, to reconcile their racial attitudes with their theology. Tinney adds the important clarification:

The primary person responsible for the inter-racial character of Apostolicism was, of course, G. T. Haywood. In fact, it may be argued that Haywood, more than any other person, was responsible for the growth and development of the Oneness movement, especially in its formative years. No figure looms as large in all historical accounts of the movement... Haywood, as it turns out, becomes the central link between all the early leaders of both the Trinitarian and Apostolic movements, and among both White and Black Pentecostals.²⁹

Also, a rather commonly held perception is that Haywood seemed to ‘transcend’ race, at least in as much as he overcame long held, previously unyielding resistances to integration, and initiated, along with an array of White, Black, and Hispanic leaders, a meaningful and viable interracial organism, genuinely unique in its day.

And yet, beyond this success, it is of utmost interest from the perspective of hindsight that this vision of organizational union was torpedoed, abandoned, and forsaken amidst yet another adaptation to cultural racist ‘norms’ and race division. After initial success against all odds, in convincing southern Pentecostals of the advantage of interracial fellowship, the movement held tenaciously to the union, in varied expressions, for the entire twenty year period from 1917 to 1937. This speaks volumes regarding the mindset of early Oneness Pentecostalism, as well as Haywood’s own persona, and the patience of so many in the midst of utter racial disappointment.

²⁹ See, James S. Tinney, “The Significance of Race in the Rise and Development of the Apostolic Pentecostal Movement,” First Occasional Symposium on Aspects of the Oneness Pentecostal Movement, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, MA, July 5-7, 1984, 61, 66; E. S. Williams interview July 1979. Williams was an Azusa Street Revival participant and Haywood’s contemporary, who, beginning in 1929, served the AG as Superintendent for twenty years.

Clearly, one of the distinct evidences of Haywood's impact upon the Oneness Pentecostal movement is the sheer statistical growth of Black Oneness Pentecostalism, suggestive, of course, of a broad appeal within the African-American, as well as other Black culture, populations. This is partly due to the interracial appeal of the early movement, but, also, directly related to the impact of Haywood's legacy upon the early movement. The number of Black Oneness Pentecostals, from the beginning of the movement, has outpaced Whites. Although a few Black Oneness organizations formed directly from the Azusa Street revival or COGIC during the early period, Haywood was the major influence attracting African American ministers into the movement

Black Apostolics, the largest Oneness constituency group, represent 40% of the worldwide totals (11,230,000) in 215 U.S. groups and 208 groups outside the U.S. Asians represent 30%, Hispanics 20%, and Whites 9%. The UPCI worldwide constituency is 10% Black, after the secession of the Apostolic Church of Ethiopia, now the largest Black Oneness group in the world. The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, though, remains the largest Black Oneness group in the U.S., with a 1998 reported worldwide membership of 1.5 million, and approaching 2 million by 2010. Of the estimated 4.5 million Oneness Pentecostals in the United States, nearly 60% are African-American.³⁰

1.4 Research Sources and Limitations

Scholarly interest in the movement, as well as integral primary source material, has been minimal until rather recently, with in a paucity of research sources, or certainly a

³⁰ "2009 Report of The Oneness Studies Institute," OSI, 1; Compare constituency totals from 1999, of 15-20 million, *Our God Is One: The Story of the Oneness Pentecostals* (Indianapolis, IN: Voice and Vision Publications, 1999), by the author; see, also, "Oneness Pentecostalism in Global Perspective: The History, Theology and Expansion of the Oneness Movement," M.A. Thesis, Wheaton College Graduate School, Wheaton, Illinois, 1998, and the UPCI, with approximately 3 million in 190 countries, 4,200 churches in the U.S. and Canada and 30,000 outside the U.S. and Canada.

dearth of scholarly reviewed, historically assessed original documents and studies. To a limited extent, the rise of the evangelical heresy-hunting, watchdog phenomenon has at least produced counter materials to Oneness Pentecostal claims, and drawn broader attention to Oneness expansion, albeit in piecemeal, mostly anecdotal fashion.

Regarding critical sources, though, Oneness Pentecostalism, like other Pentecostal traditions, has been decidedly oral and rather non-reflective, so that preservation and archiving of historical data and primary sources is minimal.³¹ This is also indicative of limitations to historical inquiry for this period, as well as the even earlier period from 1850, and the nature and availability of pre-emancipation slave records, as in the data relevant to Haywood's slave family history, and that of numerous other African American Oneness leaders of the period.

The earliest work which presents the first record of the history regarding the emergence of the movement is *The Phenomenon of Pentecost* in 1947 by Frank Ewart, himself one of the key participants.³² Other than Ewart's work, the earliest history of the movement appeared in 1965, *Think It Not Strange*, by Fred J. Foster, followed by Arthur C. Clanton's *United We Stand* in 1970, a UPCI denominational history.³³

Immediately following this period two of the most significant PAW chroniclers, both African Americans, began producing their own works. The first, Morris E. Golder,

³¹ Archival collections for Oneness organizations, such as the United Pentecostal Church International, for the most part, are extremely scant or unprocessed collections. Either access to outsiders is quite difficult or the collections are not available for general research and/or have been all but physically inaccessible.

³² Frank J. Ewart, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost* (Houston, TX: Herald Publishing House, 1947). A number of biographies appeared during the earlier period with limited, but significant historical data regarding the movement's emergence, including those of Andrew Urshan and Howard Goss.

³³ See, Fred J. Foster, *Think It Not Strange* (St. Louis, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965), revised as *Their Story: 20th Century Pentecostals* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1981); Arthur L. Clanton, *United We Stand* (Hazelwood, MO: The Pentecostal Publishing House, 1970), revised, Arthur L. Clanton and Charles E. Clanton, *United We Stand: Jubilee Edition* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, revised 1995).

in 1973, published *History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World*. The first Haywood biography appeared in 1977 by James L. Tyson, *Before I Sleep*. Golder's second work, *The Life and Works of Bishop Garfield Thomas Haywood*, also appeared in 1977.³⁴ Both Golder's and Tyson's works contain the most regularly cited biographical material of Haywood, and have been the most acclaimed studies of the early Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. By 1980 a significant history of African American Oneness Pentecostalism was published by James C. Richardson, *With Water and Spirit: A History of Black Apostolic Denominations in the U.S.*³⁵

In the thirty years since these works have been made available, remarkably few general studies by Oneness scholars, other than doctrinal volumes, have been released, indicating a limited interest in Oneness self-reflective academics. A detailed study of the history and expansion of the movement was published in 1999, by the author, *Our God Is One: The Story of the Oneness Pentecostals*, then, in 1997, an historical analysis of the early movement was published by J. L. Hall, *Restoring the Apostolic Faith*, and a post graduate study of the life of Oneness leader Howard Goss has recently been published by Robin Johnston, *Howard A. Goss: A Pentecostal Life*.³⁶ The most prolific Oneness writer is David K. Bernard, now General Superintendent of the UPCI, who's most significant

³⁴ Morris E. Golder, *History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World* (Indianapolis, IN: by the author, 1973) and *The Life and Works of Bishop Garfield Thomas Haywood* (Indianapolis, IN: by the author, 1977); James L. Tyson, *Before I Sleep: A Narrative and Photographic Biography of Bishop Garfield Thomas Haywood* (Indianapolis: Pentecostal Publications, 1976). Tyson published two expanded versions of his first work, *Chalice of Gold: A Narrative and Pictorial History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World* (Warren, OH: By the Author, 1990) and *The Early Pentecostal Revival* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1992).

³⁵ James C. Richardson, *With Water and Spirit: A History of Black Apostolic Denominations in the U.S.* (Martinsville, VA: Spirit Press, 1980).

³⁶ French, *Our God Is One*, see, n. 27; J. L. Hall, *Restoring the Apostolic Faith: A History of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 2007); Robin Johnston, *Howard Goss: A Pentecostal Life* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 2010).

publication has been *The Oneness of God*. Others include William Chalfant, David S. Norris, and Daniel L. Segraves.³⁷

The highest priority resources for this era are the early periodicals, which, at least up to about 1918, tended to actually chronicle the emerging movement. The effort of amassing the relatively few extant issues has served to open a crucial primary source window into the era and allow access to a fairly cohesive, if sketchy, recapturing of details of the movement's early history. The largest available collection of pre-1925 archival materials is that of the Oneness Studies Institute, Raleigh, North Carolina, although the UPCI's Center for the Study of Oneness Pentecostalism probably has the largest archive, though currently mostly unavailable. The Apostolic Archives International, Springfield, Missouri, also has one of the largest collections of overall Oneness archival material available.³⁸

Nevertheless, collation, from multiple sources, of extant early Oneness periodicals has yielded a much more substantial collection, than previously thought extant, of significant priority periodicals, including some of Haywood's own *The Voice in the Wilderness*, which he began publishing in 1910. In 1922, this publication became *The*

³⁷ David K. Bernard, *The Oneness of God* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1983); William Chalfant, *Ancient Champions of Oneness* (Word Aflame Press, revised 2001); David S. Norris, *'I Am': A Oneness Pentecostal Perspective* (Word Aflame Press, 2009); Daniel L. Segraves, "Oneness Theology," in *Encyclopedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity*, Stanley M. Burges, ed. (New York: Rutledge, 2006), 344; See, also, the recent contributions from Kulwant Singh Boora, including *Apostolic and Post Apostolic Baptism*, 2 vols. (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2010), *The Oneness of God and the Doctrine of the Trinity* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2009), and *Oneness and Monotheism* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2009).

³⁸ The OSI collection of earliest Oneness periodicals includes: (1) 5 issues of *The Voice in the Wilderness*, from 1916, 1918, and 1921, (2) 10 issues of *Meat in Due Season*, from 1915-1919, (3) 7 issues of *The Good Report*, from 1911-1914, (4) 8 issues of *The Blessed Truth*, from 1918-1921, and (5) 103 issues of *The Witness of God*. Occasional citations of from unavailable issues occur in some early historical works, including especially Golder. *The Christian Outlook* from 1922-1931 is available through the Apostolic Archives International, Springfield, Missouri, and a substantial collection of *The Witness of God* is part of the private collection of Phillip A. Dugas, Portland, Oregon.

Christian Outlook of the PAW. Other pertinent periodicals include Frank J. Ewart's *Meat in Due Season* (originally *The Good Report*) and D. C. O. Opperman's *The Blessed Truth*, both of which contain Haywood articles. Also, a complete bound collection of Andrew D. Urshan's *The Witness of God*, from 1919-1933, is available.

Haywood, like Urshan and Ewart, was a prolific writer. Not only did he publish his own paper on an intermittent basis, but he published several books, many of which originated from his earlier periodical articles. Although this material was largely theological, and his books and articles were seldom autobiographical, these earliest periodicals, especially from Haywood, Ewart, and Opperman, chronicled many early events of the movement, and tended to serve as a catalog of the people, places, highlights, and theology of early Oneness Pentecostalism.

1.5 Historiography of Oneness Pentecostalism

Oneness historiography offers its own interesting insights into the self-definition and perspective of the movement over the past 100 years. "Pentecostal historiography," according to Cerillo, regarding the broader movement, "has become an established subfield within the discipline of history." He adds, "The use of diverse interpretive frameworks has provided insights into the broader contours that shaped the new Pentecostal movement."³⁹

The Jesus' Name movement has only recently shown possible signs of reflective historical interest, a development which may represent internal changes in thought and outlook within Oneness Pentecostalism itself. Illuminating aspects of the movement appear from analysis of the earlier works and the lateness and scarcity of self-reflective material, as well as the more recent development of Oneness scholarship, the emergence

³⁹ Augustus Cerillo, "The Beginnings of American Pentecostalism: A Historical Overview," in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, Edith L. Blumhofer, Grant A. Wacker, and Russell P. Spittler, eds. (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois, 1999), 249.

of scholarly treatments of the movement, and the altering attitudes in recent years toward inclusivity.

An example of an inclusive scholarly treatment is Robert Mapes Anderson's ground-breaking 1979 study of Pentecostalism, *The Vision of the Disinherited*. For the first time, admittedly from an academic source outside Pentecostalism, a scholarly work highlighted, for example, the substantial role of the Oneness movement within the broader developments, inclusively, and as an integral part of the entire historical analysis. Starting with the introduction the analyses of Oneness data are interspersed throughout the study, albeit with the following definitional caveat: "Interpretations for Fundamentalism which identify it as primarily theological in nature must take into account a Pentecostal doctrinal spectrum of such variety and complexity that even unitarianism may be found within it."⁴⁰

The Vision of the Disinherited is also one of the first works to grasp the racial implications of the "Trinitarian Controversy" itself as it emerged within the Assemblies of God. Clearly, during this period, attitudes began shifting from rather negligible, slanted, negative treatments to more positive, scholarly, and less historically prejudicial works. Anderson's major work contributed to this trend, with its important inclusion of somewhat newly collated early Oneness historical material, although he cited Haywood's name consistently in error, inexplicably, as "George" T. Haywood.⁴¹

Anderson's insights were a milestone, though, in Pentecostal historiography, uniquely inclusive in its handling of the data. It emphasized the varied historical, socio-economic, and cultural paradigms which shaped Pentecostalism, especially the function of fundamentalism, dislocation and social deprivation within the early movement.

⁴⁰ Robert Mapes Anderson, *The Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 6, 4; also, "Trinitarian Controversy and Racial Separation," Chapter X, 176-194.

⁴¹ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 177-8, 189, 330.

Although the work seems to over-stress the determinative role of the sociological component within early Pentecostalism, his otherwise balanced treatment of the early history of the movement is probably unsurpassed. In addition to being ground breaking, from the standpoint of Oneness studies, *Vision of the Disinherited* was a break through, avoiding historical ostracism with sociological analysis.⁴²

Another major breakthrough work at this time was the scholarly study of David Reed in the first major, sympathetic dissertation on the Oneness movement. This was his 1978 Boston University research, “Origins and Development of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States.” Although it remained unpublished for thirty years, it has been a landmark study of Oneness Pentecostalism and was released in 2008 under the title “*In Jesus’ Name*”: *The History and Beliefs of Oneness Pentecostals*.⁴³

“*In Jesus’ Name*” is among the most significant of the few major academic Oneness studies, although it is a major revision of the original, but, like his many related articles and papers, it continues to argue for the Christian legitimacy of the movement. Most scholars, both in and out of Pentecostalism, have derived their basic understanding of Oneness theological origins from Reed’s works. For its important contribution to the study and understanding of Oneness Pentecostalism, “*In Jesus’ Name*” received the 2009

⁴² Anderson, *Disinherited*, 5, 136; cf. the critiques in *Religious Studies Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, January 1982, 15-28.

⁴³ David A. Reed, “Origin and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1978; “*In Jesus’ Name*”: *The History and Beliefs of Oneness Pentecostals*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 31 (Dorset, UK: Deo Publishing, 2008); “Oneness Pentecostalism” in *NDPCM*, Burgess and Van DerMaas, 936-944. Reed, Professor Emeritus of Pastoral Theology and Research at Wycliffe College, Toronto, Canada, was formerly UPCI in New Brunswick, Canada. Other dissertations on the movement have followed, including Joseph Howell’s “The People of the Name: Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University, 1985. Another sizeable discussion of Oneness beliefs is found in Bartley J. Linder, *The “Godhead,” How Many?* (Kerrville, TX: Illuminations Press, 1997).

Pneuma Book Award, and was also reviewed extensively in 2009 in *Pneuma*, the journal of the Society for Pentecostals Studies.⁴⁴

In Jesus' Name is a comprehensive research of "history and beliefs," to the exclusion of the later aspects of organizational development, size, and global expansion, and, as such, excels in its historical precision. The brief, but ill-placed, extrapolation of aspects of Thomas Fudge's agenda-based 2003 work, *Christianity Without a Cross*, with respect to considerably less primary source-based conclusions regarding salvation views, is one of the few departures from Reed's overall success achieved in intentionally approaching the movement from as unbiased a perspective as possible. Fudge's approach, and the overall tone of his work, on the other hand, was described by Reed: "One of the hoped-for outcomes of this study is that it will assist a minority tradition within the UPC to regain its forgotten and suppressed voice."⁴⁵

One of the most significant aspects of Oneness origins highlighted by Reed is the identification of the Oneness position with that of early Jewish Christian theology, drawing from his interpretation of aspects of early Jewish Christian Christologies in Danielou's *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* and Longenecker's *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity*. He finds Jewish tendencies within certain emphases of Evangelicalism which has impacted Oneness thought, such as a "strong" Christological "differentiation between natures." He suggests, uses of "Jewish categories" in the history

⁴⁴ See, "'In Jesus Name': A Key Resource on the Worldwide Pentecostal Phenomenon & the Oneness, Apostolic or Jesus' Name Movement," by the author, *Pneuma* 31:2 (2009): 267-273.

⁴⁵ Reed, *"In Jesus' Name,"* x, 5; Thomas A. Fudge, *Christianity Without the Cross: A History of Salvation in Oneness Pentecostalism* (Parkland, FL: Universal Publishers, 2003). The reference to the United Pentecostal Church, largest of the U.S. Oneness bodies, of which Fudge, as well as Reed, is a former member from New Brunswick, highlights, more anecdotally than historically, conjecture regarding the import of early debate regarding essentially of water and Spirit baptism as elements within the new birth. The Reed quote is from the back cover of Fudge's book. See, also, Kenneth D. Gill, "Book Reviews, Thomas A. Fudge, *Christianity Without a Cross*," *Pneuma* 26:1 (Spring 2004), 149-150, "...the hypothesis... he has failed... to substantiate."

of the church “recur in renewal movements,” an explanation for the emergence of Oneness theology within Pentecostalism.⁴⁶

From Reed’s point of view, Oneness theology represents a “truncated,” Jesus-centric view of God resulting from a proclivity for “christocentric reductionism,” which therefore naturally obscures Christ’s “identity within the Trinity.” Similar theological currents were, according to Reed, prevalent in early Evangelicalism.⁴⁷ “On the eve of the Oneness ‘revelation,’” Reed argues, “most of the doctrinal elements were in place. Patterns and themes had already been developed and debated in Holiness, Evangelical and Pentecostal circles.”⁴⁸

Unlike Greg A. Boyd, another former Oneness Pentecostal, in his 1992 *Oneness Pentecostals and the Trinity*, sub-titled *A Worldwide Movement Assessed by a Former Oneness Pentecostal*, Reed argues that “Oneness Pentecostalism is a sectarian movement within the wider parameters of the Church rather than a cult,” and that it is “heterodox rather than a heretical movement.” Therefore, in spite of, or perhaps, even more accurately, because of its own sectarian characteristics, Oneness Pentecostalism surged in growth.⁴⁹ Boyd accurately refers to his own presentation of the movement as “polemic,”

⁴⁶ “*In Jesus’ Name*,” 69, 233-244; Reed suggests that the strong Oneness differentiation between natures hints of inevitable Nestorianism; Jean Danielou, *The Development of Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicea*, vol. 1, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, ed. and trans. John A. Baker (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), 7-9, 148, 151, 407, 46, 154-156; Richard N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity, Studies in Biblical Theology 17* (Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1970), 41-46, 128.

⁴⁷ “*In Jesus’ Name*,” 33-34.

⁴⁸ “*In Jesus’ Name*,” 50, 135.

⁴⁹ Reed’s analogies are taken from Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, “Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 18:2 (1979): 117-131 and Irving Hexham and Karla Poewe, *New Religions as Global Cultures* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997) 27-40; Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 9. Gregory A. Boyd, *Oneness Pentecostals and the Trinity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1992); cf., also, other pejorative works, such as Edward L. Dalcour, *A Definitive Look at Oneness Theology: Defending the Trinity of God* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005), in which he refers to

describing Oneness Pentecostalism as a dangerous precisely because of its “inconspicuousness and apparent harmlessness.”⁵⁰

By the 1980’s a fresh interest in Oneness Pentecostalism was piqued, partly by such forays of research and analysis, often originating from erudition forged in the exodus of scholars from the movement, such as Reed, Howell, Boyd, and Fudge, eager, from their disparate perspectives, to reflect upon their familiar, if discarded, tradition. The paradoxical shift in attitude and focus ‘from without’ played its part, as well, as scholarly focus re-examined varied, but previously ignored, aspects of the movement, including its Black origins.

A 1984 symposium convened at Harvard, called by a former Oneness participant, Jeffrey Gill, to explore “Aspects of the Oneness Pentecostal Movement.” Although the symposium papers were unpublished, they were significant in demonstrating the direction of theological reflection and scholarly interest in Apostolic origins, theology, and expansion.⁵¹ Some, who represented especially critical scholarship regarding the movement, including James Tinney, were represented, including, for example, those who were researching the movement’s considerable expansion within autochthonous groups, such as Roswith Gerloff who was working on the Black Oneness trans-Atlantic and

the UPCI as “the largest anti-Trinitarian non-Christian group in the world” (5); A review of Dalcour’s work by David A. Reed appeared in *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 166-169; Bob L. Ross, *The Trinity and the Eternal Sonship of Christ: A Defense Against ‘Oneness’ Pentecostal Attacks on Historic Christianity* (Pasadena, TX: Pilgrim Publications, 1993; E. Calvin Beisner, “*Jesus Only*” Churches (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1998).

⁵⁰ Boyd, *Oneness Pentecostals*, 9, 10, 12; He places Oneness theology and the movement among “dangerous heresies” which cut “to the heart of all that is essential to the Christian faith,” 9; Nevertheless, within the last two decades, in spite of an original foray of negative, questionable depictions of the movement, a much more positive, balanced approach has prevailed generally.

⁵¹ “The First Occasional Symposium on Aspects of the Oneness Pentecostal Movement,” Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, MA, July 5-7, 1985. Of the twelve presenters, ten were outside the Oneness tradition, five being former Oneness Pentecostals, David Reed, Joseph Howell, Stephen Graham, Gregory Boyd and Dan Lewis.

British movement. The first volume of her published work was subtitled *With Special Reference to the Pentecostal Oneness (Apostolic) and Sabbatarian Movements*.

Presenters Ken Gill and the Oneness scholar Manuel Gaxiola were doing academic research on the Mexican Oneness movement.⁵²

In 1988 Iain MacRobert published his thesis from the University of Birmingham, *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA*.⁵³ Though written from the broad perspective of racial issues within the early Pentecostal movement, it is, nevertheless, inclusive of the varied aspects of the racial issues within Oneness Pentecostalism as well. MacRobert, originally from the Oneness tradition himself, brings those insights into his analysis of the racial realities which have faced Pentecostalism from its origins.

From the time of the historical presentations of the movement by Anderson and Reed, a considerably more sensible and inclusive treatment of the movement has evolved, as demonstrated, for example, in the more than 70 articles about the Oneness movement included in the popular Zondervan resource on Pentecostalism, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*. This includes, for example, the most recent histories of the Assemblies of God, especially that of Edith L. Blumhofer. Notable examples are also seen in the inclusive treatment in *Thinking in the Spirit* and *A Reader in Pentecostal Theology: Voices from the First Generation*, works by Douglas Jacobsen,

⁵² Gerloff and Gill completed their Ph.D. research at the University of Birmingham, UK, and both were published by Peter Lang; see, Roswith I. H. Gerloff, *A Plea for Black British Theologies: The Black Church Movement in Britain in its Transatlantic Cultural and Theological Interaction*, 2 vols. (New York: Peter Lang, 1992); Kenneth D. Gill, *Toward a Contextualized Theology for the Third World: The Emergence and Development of Jesus' Name Pentecostalism in Mexico*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1994). Gaxiola's Ph.D. thesis was also completed at Birmingham, but not his earlier Oneness studies, see, Manuel J. Gaxiola, "The Serpent and the Dove: A History of the Apostolic Church of the Faith in Christ Jesus in Mexico, 1914-1974," M.A. Thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1978.

⁵³ Iain MacRobert, *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1988).

which include sizeable sections on Haywood, Larson, and Urshan, including an entire chapter entitled “Oneness Option.”⁵⁴

Allan Anderson’s *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* and Amos Yong’s *The Spirit Poured Out on All Flesh* are also important examples of recent, all-encompassing research on Pentecostalism which are, throughout, inclusive of significant aspects of the movement involving Oneness Pentecostalism.⁵⁵ Interestingly, in his chapter “Oneness and Trinity: Identity, Plurality, and World Theology,” Yong even uses the Oneness Pentecostal theological mindset as a prime illustration of the necessity of an ecumenical “global theology,” inclusive enough to embrace both Oneness thought, as well as allow for a Pentecostal acknowledgment of a working of the Spirit in the context of other religions.

The Trinity-Oneness Dialogue of the Society for Pentecostal Studies has, on the other hand, yielded mixed and limited, outcomes, as evidenced in the “joint,” and especially the non-joint “affirmations.”⁵⁶ Even more pointed are Macchia’s reflections on the dialogue noted in *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*. Macchia, who chaired the “Trinitarian side” in the dialogue, essentially concluded Oneness

⁵⁴ Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism*, 2 vols. (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989); Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003); *A Reader in Pentecostal Theology: Voices from the First Generation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006); *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal & Charismatic Movements*, Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002).

⁵⁵ Anderson, *Introduction*, especially “Chinese Pentecostal Churches,” 132ff, to which considerable exception was taken under review, Joseph L. Castleberry, “Pentecostal History from Below,” *Pneuma* 28:2 (Fall 2006): 271-274. Amos Yong, Chapter 5, “Oneness and Trinity: Identity, Plurality and World Theology,” in *The Spirit Poured Out on All Flesh: Pentecostalism and the Possibility of Global Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Publishing Group, 2005), 203-234.

⁵⁶ See, the report on the special, closed sessions of SPS Trinity-Oneness Dialogue, “Oneness-Trinitarian Pentecostal Final Report, 2002-2007,” *Pneuma* 30:2 (Fall 2006): 203-224. Years of closed-door dialogue, limited to a handful, worked against clarity and breadth of understanding in the final analysis.

theological rationale to be baffling, so much so that he remains completely “ambivalent about the Oneness protests.”

The dialogue has, therefore, yielded the net result of insufficient mutual empathy and a lack of even rudimentary clarity. Macchia further suggests that these inexplicable “Oneness protests” must be understood as the Oneness failure to recognize ‘their own’ Spirit baptism as a “Trinitarian act of God” and a Trinitarian structured experience.⁵⁷

On the other hand, Oneness acknowledgement of the currents in the theological academy regarding Trinitarian issues is nearly non-existent, including the most significant recent scholarship defending the history, relevance, and certitude of Trinitarian thought, in spite of its obvious relevance to their own theological formulations. Several recent works, for example, indicate that theological trends are hardly empathetic with Oneness modalistic interpretations, with scholars, such as Millard Erickson, Larry Hurtado, and Stanley Grenz, now apparently more aware of, yet reticent to, modal implications in theology than ever.⁵⁸

For the most part, Oneness scholarship displays little interest in self-reflective responses to opposition, fundamental challenges, or scholarly research. The earliest

⁵⁷ Frank D. Macchia, *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2006), 115, 116, 110-125, 251. Cf. Kilian McDonnell, ed., *Presence, Power, Praise: Documents on the Charismatic Renewal* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1980), 526. Macchia, though, supported Oneness inclusion in the Pentecostal Charismatic Churches of North America, see, “From Azusa to Memphis: Evaluating the Racial Reconciliation Dialogue Among Pentecostals,” *Pneuma* 17:2 (Fall 1995): 214-215, a status thus far unattainable for Oneness churches.

⁵⁸ A short list of such relevant scholarship includes: Millard J. Erickson, *God in Three Persons: A Contemporary Interpretation of the Trinity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995) and *The Word Became Flesh: A Contemporary Incarnational Christology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1991); Douglas McCready, *He Came Down from Heaven: The Preexistence of Christ and the Christian Faith* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005); Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003); Simon J. Gathercole, *The Pre-existent Son: Recovering the Christologies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006); Stanley J. Grenz, *The Named God and the Question of Being: A Trinitarian Theo-Ontology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005).

period of the emergence of the movement, though, was characterized by a far more aggressive theologically responsive flare for issues of specific interest to its doctrinal fundamentals, with key participants making every effort to keep from blending into the theological landscape.

1.6 Conclusion – Scope and Sequence

The unfolding of the events pertaining to this early era, 1906-1931, follows the natural sequence of the life and ministry of Haywood, as well as the early history of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. This is due to the fact that the two cohere rather nicely, as parallel events of some of the notable events in the history of the Oneness movement. The following six chapters (2-7), therefore, follow the historical sequence, beginning with the (1) background and early life of G. T. Haywood (1880-1905) and the emerging Pentecostal revival led by Charles F. Parham and the (2) profound Azusa Street revival as an influence upon Oneness Pentecostalism (1906-1911), especially as it parallels the establishment and earliest leadership of the PAW.

The sequence of research emphasis necessarily continues with the (3) J. J. Frazee ‘pre-merger,’ pre-Oneness era of the PAW (1912-1918) and its pivotal entrance into the Oneness movement, followed by a thorough analysis of the (4) fully interracial, integrated leadership of the E. W. Doak-Haywood Oneness-era of the PAW (1918-1924). The final two periods of study are the (5) era of racial division within the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and the emergence of a predominantly African-American PAW (1922-1924) and (6) the resulting diffusion and strengthened independency of the Oneness movement and the impact of G. T. Haywood’s global legacy (1925-1931).

Some of the especially consequential elements of the research, though, are historical, combining precision of analysis of heretofore little known aspects of the early movement with fresh detail regarding numerous emerging leaders, as well as the varying

early centers of the movement in the United States. Critical to this investigation is the query regarding the Black “roots” of Pentecostalism, as well as the additional question regarding how to best articulate the implications of Haywood’s particular responses to the issues of race which became central to the movement by the mid-1920’s. The more transparent these issues become, including the ensuing tensions, divisions, and resulting impact, a more enhanced perspective emerges regarding the historical particulars and meaningful application for the present. This includes the question, regardless of current contextual distancing from the events, of whether or not historical hindsight can result in an ability to learn from past mistakes.

The broad strokes, therefore, of the research are best summarized into basic components of inter-related historical, ideological, or theological categories. Of first concern is the background research concerning Pentecostal origins and precursors of Oneness Pentecostalism, Parham, the Black “roots” and influences, as well as the emerging pre-Oneness leadership, especially of the burgeoning Pentecostal South, most significant to interracial developments which would directly impact the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World until at least 1937.

Secondly, focus shifts to Los Angeles and the Seymour-Azusa Street revival and vision which gave rise to a Pentecostalism of international consequence, and to the Indianapolis revival, and to G. T. Haywood’s conversion and ministry in particular. The essential questions have to do with the enormous impact of Azusa Street upon almost every facet of the Oneness movement and its developing leadership, Black, White, and Hispanic, especially the impetus for interracial prioritizing, as especially evidenced in the early Los Angeles-Azusa Street origins of the PAW itself.

But the obscurity of this era is only slightly more pronounced than that which follows, the historical turn of events, beginning in 1912, connected with J. J. Frazee’s

leadership, the relocation to Portland, Oregon, and the eventual Frazee Oneness conversion. This era, for the first time, is evaluated in the light of fresh data, including information regarding the theological transition of the PAW from a Trinitarian to a Oneness body. The whirl of events surrounding the emergence of the movement, its impact in the Assemblies of God, and the swift sweeping of scores of leaders and thousands of converts into the ‘new issue,’ greatly impacted Frazee and the already interracial Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. Some significant historical breakthroughs in the research finally elucidate this era, an era which previously has been shrouded in historical imprecision.

In spite of Azusa Street’s disappointing interracial failure, Haywood served as a primary impetus for a Post-Azusa Pentecost, initiating yet another surge of interracial hopes originating in the “Midwest Azusa,” Indianapolis, and the Oneness movement. This era technically commenced with the all-Oneness PAW in 1919, and its integrated leadership of Doak and Haywood. But the PAW’s interracial vision extended back thirteen years to 1906. The ideological blueprint for interracial possibilities became front and center for the majority of White Oneness Pentecostals in 1917, almost immediately after their AG expulsion, with the conception of a unified movement and the eradication of racial division.

The resulting interracial ‘golden-era,’ though, lasted seven years. Like Azusa Street, the movement experienced the bitter disappointment of racial division. The first interracial phase of the Oneness movement ended late in 1924. Yet this era demands extensive analysis, which is divided between two chapters, the second concentrating on the years 1922-1924 and the racism which unraveled the vision for racial union. In addition to these, a final chapter documents the diffusion and splintering which impacted the entire movement as a result, and the much less successful second interracial phase

which lasted six years, 1931-1937. And, interwoven in this final analysis, is an assessment of the scope of G. T. Haywood's significant legacy.

Without doubt, early Oneness proponents were unfamiliar with the concept of user-friendly discussions, but were pressing hard for their version of the Pentecostal vision of faith and fellowship. Haywood was busy in the days immediately prior to the Assemblies of God convention in 1916 attempting to convince as many as possible that they should pay the necessary price and join the Oneness ranks. Within weeks they would be ousted from the AG for their advocacy of baptism in Jesus' name and the Oneness of God. Yet Haywood rushed a message to the presses, entitled "The Alabaster Box," October 1916, with the following prayer:

God help us not to be afraid to break our alabaster boxes....
Today many of God's People have some nice little alabaster boxes,
which they prize very highly.... Break your denominational boxes and
let the odor fill the house! Break your second work of grace boxes....
Break your manmade views concerning water baptism and let the name
of Jesus have preeminence.... Break your trinity boxes and let the glory
of God be revealed in the face of Jesus Christ.⁵⁹

The story of Oneness Pentecostalism, indeed, seems to have been the account of the breaking of these boxes of tradition as an early generation of Oneness proponents succeeded in capturing the imaginations of an entire movement. Within fifteen years and the period of the Haywood era they caught the attention of hundreds of thousands of newly emerging Pentecostals of every stripe and racial and socio-economic background.

In the twenty-first century their influence continues to be felt, and not only from merely disenfranchised, disinherited, or distant autochthonous segments of Oneness Pentecostalism which have, as Karla Poewe has framed the discussion, persisted as the "Pentecostal poor." Their effect may also be experienced via what Poewe deems the "neo-Pentecostal money aristocracy" of the American mega-church and the Pentecostal

⁵⁹ G. T. Haywood, "The Alabaster Box," *The Voice in the Wilderness*, No. 18, October 1916, 1.

“elites.”⁶⁰ Nevertheless, it is increasingly apparent that their story is not unlike the individual story of Haywood himself, who surmounted enormous social barriers and racial injustices to rise to prominence among Black, Hispanic, and White. Such leadership sustained the vision which became indelibly etched into the story of early Pentecostalism.

⁶⁰ Karla Poewe, ed., *Charismatic Christianity and the Global Culture* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 200, 203; cf., for example, T. D. Jakes, a Black Oneness minister associated with “Higher Ground” churches, with ties to the PAW, see, Shayne Lee, *T. D. Jakes: America’s New Preacher* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 9, 17, 21-22; Barack Obama, the first Black U. S. President, made the news attending a flagship PAW mega-church congregation in Chicago, see, *USAToday* (Reuters), “Obama Speaks on Fatherhood at Church,” Deborah Charles, June 15, 2008, http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2008-11-09-4125943569_x.htm (accessed March 11, 2009); cf., the reaction to Obama’s visit to a Oneness congregation, see, William Pankey, “President Obama Graces Church that Most Others Shun,” *The Examiner*, <http://www.examiner.com/pentecostal-in-chicago/president-obama-graces-church-that-most-others-shun> (accessed March 11, 2009).

CHAPTER TWO

G. T. Haywood & the Black Roots of Pentecostalism (1850-1905)

2.1 Racial Implications of Parham's Views

A considerable consensus of scholarship has come to view the emergence of Pentecostalism in the U. S. as rooted in the American revivalism and Black spirituality prevalent in the early twentieth century. The early association of tongues speaking with Spirit baptism by Charles Fox Parham especially shaped the movement, but his lack of racial integration and international impetus assured him a limited legacy. But at the turn of the twentieth century, outbreaks of tongues speaking were certainly not unique to Parham's ministry.

On the other hand, with the successes of Parham's 'Apostolic Faith' group, and their corresponding view regarding the meaning of tongues, the rumblings of a true movement were increasingly evident. At first, in his periodical *The Apostolic Faith* in September, Seymour referred to Parham as "God's leader" of the Apostolic Faith Movement.¹

That assessment would be radically redacted by the Azusa Street leader within a matter of weeks, due to Parham's own overt racism which was becoming increasingly apparent. Tracing Parham's racism back into the 1890's, with clear indication of a "full-blown" racist British Israelism by at least 1902, Allan Anderson argues that this aspect of Parham's "dubious legacy" was not of late origin, and certainly not a much later

¹ More than thirteen thousand members had already joined the Apostolic Faith ranks, including those of the Los Angeles mission, within little more than five years from the outbreak of Parham's revival which was initiated January 1, 1901 in Topeka, Kansas. William Seymour, when the Azusa Street revival erupted onto the scene in April 1906, had been a part of Parham's Apostolic Faith group. See, "The Old-Time Pentecost," *The Apostolic Faith*, September 1906, Los Angeles, California, vol. 1, no. 1, 1, the first issue of Seymour's Los Angeles based periodical.

development in Parham's theology, post-dating Seymour's involvement with his movement.²

Clearly, Parham's racism was antithetical to the African American roots of the emerging movement, the Black influences which became more and more obvious as the movement erupted into an international force. The earlier rumblings of the Parham revival and his Apostolic Faith bands were largely confined to Kansas, Missouri and Texas. As impactful as they may have been, they were certainly dwarfed by the magnitude of the unprecedented influx resulting from William J. Seymour's interracial, African American led Azusa Street revival.

Seymour set the stage for meaningful equality of ministry, which included Hispanic, Black, White, and international participation and leadership, quickly resulting in a fully operational epicenter of a full-scale Pentecostal movement. Suddenly, with thousands being drawn to what has been called the 'Nazareth' of Los Angeles, other strong African American leaders were swept into the Pentecostal movement in swift succession, some at Azusa Street and others through its spreading fires, including both G. T. Haywood and Charles H. Mason.³

2.1.1 Spirit Baptism and the Pre-Azusa Street Revival Tongues Movement

Parham's most important contribution was his theological formulation regarding the experience of tongues speaking, not tongues speaking per se, but the linking of

² Allan H. Anderson, "The Dubious Legacy of Charles Parham: Racism and Cultural Insensitivities Among Pentecostals," *Pneuma* 27:1 (Spring 2007): 51-64; cf. Goss, *Fields White unto Harvest*, 132.

³ Haywood's experience of Spirit baptism in February 1908 fit into this second category. Charles H. Mason, a formidable African American Holiness leader, journeyed to Los Angeles where he was Spirit filled at the Azusa Street revival in February 1907. Mason became leader of the Church of God in Christ, now the largest Pentecostal group in the U.S., and, according to DuPree, the "fifth-largest U.S. denomination." See, Sherry Sherrod DuPree, "The Explosive Growth of the African American Pentecostal Church," *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches 1993*, Kenneth B. Bedell, ed. (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1993), 7-10.

tongues to the “biblical evidence,” or what was viewed as the initial evidence, of Spirit baptism. His most notable biographer, James Goff, considers Parham’s most significant impact on the movement to be that of the theological connecting of “the basic tenets that later defined the movement” and “gave Pentecostalism a definable theological corpus.”⁴ Thus, tongues as a *necessary* sign of Spirit baptism became the defining characteristic of early Pentecostalism. And this distinctive was strongly adhered to as definitive Pentecostalism by nearly every segment of early Oneness Pentecostalism as well.

Due to his impact upon Seymour, the significance of Parham’s impact in the early tongues movement took on entirely new dimensions, interracial and international. The Azusa Street revival served as a catalyst in the widespread dissemination of tongues theology. To one degree or another, the emphasis on tongues in Spirit baptism influenced all other definitional parameters, setting up the ultimate tension in Pentecostal definition between the theological and experiential.

Certainly, the overwhelmingly predominant view within all segments of Oneness Pentecostalism, perhaps even more emphatically than within the broader movement, was initial evidence theology. In fact, the view, sometimes referred to as the ‘essentiality of the Holy Ghost,’ leads, unavoidably to a belief in the necessity of tongues. One of Haywood’s most popular publications, for example, *The Birth of the Spirit in the Days of the Apostles*, was very straightforward in making this obvious: “Tongues were a sign on the day of Pentecost that the Comforter had come.” And, he added, “They were signs to

⁴ For this basic perspective, see, also, Anderson, *Disinherited*, 52-57; Gary B. McGee, ed., *Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Perspectives on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991). James R. Goff, Jr., *Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1988); James R. Goff, “Parham, Charles Fox (1873-1920),” *NIDPCM*, Burgess and Van Der Maas, 955.

Apostolic Fathers that a man had received the Holy Ghost. They are a sign that modern Christendom has not received the Holy Ghost.”⁵

Vinson Synan, representing the predominant theological view of classical Pentecostalism, argues, moreover, that, with only slight exceptions, and even “despite these exceptions,” initial evidence theology “carried the day throughout most of the Pentecostal world.” The classical Pentecostal view is limited to belief in an essentiality of tongues only in the sense of their necessity as a sign that one is Spirit filled. Although Oneness Pentecostalism holds this view, the Oneness view goes further, usually holding a distinct view of the essentiality of Spirit baptism itself. Nevertheless, Synan contends that “in the end tongues as initial evidence became the distinctive doctrine of the Pentecostal churches.”⁶

Although this continues to hold true for the most part in Oneness Pentecostalism, it is not true within large segments of the broader tongues movement.⁷ The definitional trend regarding Pentecostal Spirit baptism, except for the Oneness movement itself, is toward a preference for the less restrictive, the less theologically oriented, and, therefore,

⁵ G. T. Haywood, *The Birth of the Spirit in the Days of the Apostles*, n. d., in *The Life and Writings of Elder G. T. Haywood*, Paul D. Dugas, ed. (Portland, OR: Apostolic Book Publishers, 1968), 88, 67-90; see, Fred E. Kinzie, *Handbook on Receiving the Holy Ghost* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1997), 81ff; Kenneth V. Reeves, *The Holy Ghost With Tongues* (Granite City, IL: by the author, 1966), 31-36.

⁶ Vinson Synan, “The Role of Tongues as Initial Evidence,” Society for Pentecostal Studies Papers, November 11-13, 1993, Guadalajara, Mexico, 10; cf., Anthony D. Palma, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1999), 57.

⁷ Hunter, for example, counters Synan noting that “this stance has been mitigated by the fact that some present-day Pentecostal leaders and scholars do not support this claim and, experientially, all Pentecostals who profess to have been baptized in the Spirit cannot claim to have spoken in tongues.” The Pentecostal movement is no longer characterized by a uniformity of belief regarding Spirit baptism. See, H. D. Hunter, “Baptism in the Spirit,” *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, D. G. Reid, ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 108-109.

broader classifications.⁸ This allows, of course, for the inclusion of non-tongues groups under the Pentecostal classification, although no standard classification prevails, as noted earlier in the research preferences of Johnstone and Mandryk. Nevertheless, even with the broader parameters, most observers minimally define Pentecostalism as “usually including a post-conversion experience” baptism, with the additional emphasis of a “renewing experience of the Holy Ghost” and the “gifts.”⁹

2.1.2 Parham’s Impact on the Southwest States Region

Central to an understanding of the events regarding the interracial history of the Oneness movement is the development of the south and the southwest region of the U.S. as an early Jesus’ Name stronghold. The area of Parham’s greatest impact was the southwest region of the United States, and, therefore, the link to his most direct influence upon that important Oneness center, via the substantial number of Oneness leaders swept into the movement through Parham’s ministry. The south and southwest region, early on, became the largest for Oneness Pentecostalism, most notably Texas and Louisiana.

The first-hand account of the Parham era was compiled in 1930 by Parham’s wife, Sarah E. Parham, in *The Life of Charles F. Parham*. Another significant eye-witness account was compiled by Ethel E. Goss, wife of important early Oneness leader, Howard

⁸ The variation in views is quite evident in the dominant tendency within the Charismatic movement, especially, away from a position of evidential tongues, but toward identifying Spirit Baptism with a multiplicity of signs. Additionally, the dominant view of the Catholic Charismatic movement tends to “speak of Spirit baptism as an eventual ‘release of the Spirit’ in the Christian life received at infant baptism,” Macchia, *Spirit Baptism*, 72-74; Hunter, “Baptism in the Spirit,” *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, 108; Kilian McDonnell and George T. Montague, *Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 24-30, 39-40; see, also, Gordon Fee, *Gospel and Spirit: Issues in New Testament Hermeneutics* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 83-85, 105-111.

⁹ Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, 3, 21; Anderson, *Introduction*, 11; Also, Synan sees a “semi-initial evidence position” being espoused as a reaction to these trends, with “most theologians” admitting that tongues were, throughout the history of the movement, “the ‘usual,’ ‘normal,’ or most common ‘consequence’ of receiving the ‘baptism’,” see, Synan, “Role of Tongues,” 15-16.

Goss, in an autobiographical work, *The Winds of God*. Goss was an early Parham convert and leader within Parham's Apostolic Faith organization.¹⁰ The foremost Parham authority remains James R. Goff, Jr., who published the definitive work on Parham in 1988, *Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism*.

Charles Fox Parham was born in Iowa, June 4, 1873, and moved to Kansas at age five. As a young man in Kansas, he became involved, by the late 1880's, as a minister in the Holiness movement. By 1898, Parham had begun a healing ministry in Topeka, where, by 1900, he had also opened a Bible school in the old 'Stone's Folly' mansion. In January 1901 Parham and some of his students experienced speaking in tongues, but very few converts were made to the new tongues movement for nearly three years. A genuine 'breakthrough' did not come until the successful Parham healing revival in Galena, Kansas in late 1903.¹¹

The next three years, before the Azusa Street revival, were very successful regionally, with more than ten thousand converts joining the movement throughout Kansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas.¹² As Parham's center of operation shifted to Houston, Texas, where Seymour was introduced to the tongues movement via the Apostolic Faith organization, the formation of a region was taking shape which would become, within a decade, a major part of what would emerge as the most influential segment of the Oneness movement, rivaling the increasingly interracial Midwest. The

¹⁰ Sarah E. Parham, *The Life of Charles F. Parham* (Baxter Springs, KS: Apostolic Faith Bible College, 1930); Ethel E. Goss, *The Winds of God* (New York: Comet Press Books, 1958; revised, by Ruth Goss Norgje, Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1977); Goss's important biographical history covers only the period inclusive of Parham's Apostolic Faith movement and his early involvement in the origins of the Assemblies of God, but not the period of the Oneness controversy.

¹¹ Parham, *Life of Charles F. Parham*, 90-91; Goss, *Winds of God*, 34.

¹² Goff, "Parham," *NIDPCM*, 955.

two regions played the key roles in the unfolding of events which shaped the making, and unmaking, of interracial Pentecostalism within the PAW in the 1920's.

Early development of Oneness Pentecostalism in Parham influenced areas of the south, were less impacted by, and certainly less indebted to, the events of the Azusa Street phenomenon, than other areas, especially the considerable number of leaders whose initial introduction into Pentecostalism was Parham's ministry, and who later embraced the Oneness movement. Early Oneness leaders who were impacted directly by Parham included key ministers including Howard Goss, Daniel Opperman, Walter Lyons, L. C. Hall, Jerry Osborn, David Floyd and Oliver Fauss. More than a dozen key Oneness leaders of the region are here noted in order to highlight the extent of Parham's impact.

The most notable, perhaps, was Howard A. Goss (1883-1964), who became first General Superintendent of the Oneness organization the United Pentecostal Church when it formed in 1945. From Clinton, Missouri, Goss's family later moved to near Galena, Kansas in 1898, although his original ancestry is traced to Granville and Wilkesboro, North Carolina. In Kansas they settled just north of Galena in Empire City, Kansas.¹³

During Parham's successful 1903 Galena revival the twenty year old Goss received his call and joined the Apostolic Faith movement. He did not receive Spirit baptism with tongues until April 1906, on a train in Alvin, Texas, during an evangelistic tour with an Apostolic Faith band. Lawrence's 1916 *The Apostolic Faith Restored* preserves Goss' own early description of the events.¹⁴ Goss established the successful

¹³ *Biography Index*, Sept 1955-Aug 1958, vol. 4 (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1960; *Who's Who In America*, vol. 7, 1977-1981 (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1981); <http://trees.ancestry.com/pt/pedigree>; "March 6, 1883," WWI Registration Card, September 7, 1918; *1900 U.S. Census*, Empire City, Cherokee Co., Kansas, 5.

¹⁴ Goss, *Winds of God*, 27-28, 80-81; B. F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (St. Louis, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1916), 60-61; see, also, Ken Gurley, "Howard Goss and the Revival in Alvin," *Vision*, South Texas UPCI, November-December 2005, 9-10.

Malvern, Arkansas church, which he turned over, in 1910, to E. N. Bell. Bell and Goss were important organizers of the Assemblies of God, with Bell becoming its Chairman.

Daniel C. O. Opperman is another early leader who was first connected with Parham's group, but who became prominent as a Jesus' Name leader. Opperman was originally an educator with John Alexander Dowie's healing movement in Zion, Illinois, but, about the time Seymour was leaving for L.A., he was healed of tuberculosis while working with the Parham ministry in Texas. In 1907 Opperman then joined the Apostolic Faith evangelism teams, although he did not receive Pentecostal baptism until January 1908, in San Antonio, Texas.¹⁵ A leading organizer of early short-term Bible schools, Opperman later, in 1917, became the first Chairman of the newly formed Oneness organization called the General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies (GAAA), following the Oneness expulsion from the Assemblies of God.

After the Apostolic Faith separated from Parham several ministers were brought into Pentecostalism under Goss's own leadership of the Apostolic Faith. One of the key early Goss converts was David Lee Floyd, whose family was originally from Red River County, Texas. Floyd received Pentecostal baptism in 1910 in Wilburton, Oklahoma and was a 1914 charter member of the Assemblies of God. After 1915 Floyd worked closely with Opperman in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, even turning over to Opperman what became his most influential means of impact upon the emerging Oneness movement, Floyd's own periodical, *The Blessed Truth*.¹⁶

¹⁵ Goss, *Winds of God*, 100-105, 205; Edith L. Blumhofer, "D. C. O. Opperman," *NIDPCM*, 946-947; Glenn Gohr, "D. C. O. Opperman and Early Ministerial Training: Short-term Bible Schools," *AG Heritage*, Winter 1990-1991; see, also, J. L. Hall, "Contending for the Faith," Part Three, *Pentecostal Herald*, May 1997, 13-17; see, also, Philip L. Cook, *Zion, Illinois: Twentieth-Century Utopia* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996).

¹⁶ "David Lee Floyd Interview with Larry Booker – 1979-1980," Transcript, Miami, Oklahoma, 6; Don Martin, *The 1st Pentecostal Church of Garden City/1st Pentecostal Church of Tulsa Story* (Tulsa, OK: By the author, 2002), 3-4; Wacker,

Several of the region's other earliest Oneness leaders and ministers were converted in Goss's 1909-1910 Malvern revival, as well, including Samuel C. McClain, G. C. McDaniel, and Clarence T. Craine, who joined Opperman's not too distant Bible school in Joplin, in 1910. The significant Malvern revival, reportedly, lasted sixteen weeks, in which hundreds were Spirit baptized, and at least sixty-five preachers received their call.¹⁷

Others, like Walter H. Lyons, in 1906, and Lemuel C. Hall, in 1907, were ushered into the early Pentecostal movement by the ministry of Charles Parham, although they later shifted their allegiance to Howard Goss when Parham's moral problems surfaced and the necessity for reorganizing the Apostolic Faith movement became a critical issue. In fact, the San Antonio mission at which Parham had been speaking when arrested, July 1907, was under Hall's direction.

Hall, a West Point graduate and former Dowie disciple, was known as a singer and songwriter, as well as an exceptional, and well educated, preacher. He was the grandson of Alabama governor and U.S. Senator Arthur P. Bagley. He married the young widowed Mabel Smith, who was converted in Parham's Galveston meetings. Smith later became known for her Azusa Street ministry and gift of xenolalia, and, as pointed out by Estrela Alexander in *The Women of Azusa Street*, for convincing William Durham to visit Azusa. Hall and Opperman received Spirit baptism in the same revival, in San Antonio, where Hall was pastor of a CMA congregation. Much later, as an influential

Heaven Below, 28; *1900 U.S. Census*, Red River County, Texas, 22. Floyd first began publication of *the Blessed Truth* in about 1916 in Louisiana.

¹⁷ Martin, *Tulsa*, 38; S. C. McClain, *Seek First the Kingdom*, Robin Johnston, ed. (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 2005), 17-19, 22; Howard A. Goss, "The Blessed Revival at Malvern, Arkansas," *The Bridegroom's Messenger*, December 15, 1909; Catherine McDaniel Hansford, "Grover C. McDaniel," *Profiles of Pentecostal Preachers*, Mary H. Wallace, ed. (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1983), 136-140, 142; Vernita Craine Reed, "T. Richard Reed," *Old-Time Preacher Men*, Mary H. Wallace, ed. (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1992), 199.

Oneness leader, L. C. Hall became the first Chairman of the Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance in 1925.¹⁸

Lyons, a leader in the Dallas, Texas area, became Chairman of another emerging Oneness organization, the Emanuel's Church in Jesus Christ in 1925, which eventually became the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ. Lyons was converted at Millicent McClendon's Arlington, Texas revival, although he had actually only attended in order to stop the meetings. McClendon, a featured Parham preacher, married Goss in February 1907, but died in childbirth in 1910.¹⁹

Another prominent Texas leader, connected to Goss's early ministry and converted at least by 1910, was R. L. Blankenship. Though Chairman of the 1945 Texas district of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ, he opposed the PAJC merger with the Pentecostal Church, Inc., which resulted in his leaving the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ to establish his own group, which was known as the Apostolic Church.²⁰

Jerry E. Osborn (1879-1964) received 'Pentecostal' baptism prior to Parham's claim to having restored it, and a full ten years before the Azusa revival—in 1896 in Glenn Rose, Texas (near Dallas). Ministering between Texas and Oklahoma between 1900 and 1906, Osborn worked with Pentecostal minister Frank Talmedge Alexander in

¹⁸ The PMA (later Pentecostal Church, Inc.) merged with the PAJC to form the UPC; Anderson, *Disinherited*, 137; see, also, Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 107; Estrelda Alexander, *The Women of Azusa Street* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2005), 135, 138; Goss, *Winds of God*, 105-107; Edith L. Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishers, Co., 1993), 106.

¹⁹ Lyons (b. 1871) led the ECJC into mergers which resulted in it becoming the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, and, later, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ, and, ultimately, the UPCI, Clanton, *United We Stand*, 54; Goss, *Winds of God*, 145, describing Millicent as "freckled-faced," 146; Mary H. Wallace, ed. *Old-Time Preacher Men* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1992), 272-273; Betty Treece, *Come to Beulah Land: The Pioneer Preacher Jerry Earl Osborn (1879-1964)* (Lake Charles, LA: By the author, 1997), 248-259.

²⁰ See, *The Pentecostal Outlook*, November 1937, 13; Howell, "People of the Name," 180-181; Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971), 160.

Erick, Oklahoma, and identified early on with Parham's ministry in Texas. He was in "Beulah," Oklahoma by 1906 working with Emanuel Bible College, famed songwriter R. E. Winsett, and evangelist Daniel Awrey, who, for example, conducted the Bible school in Eureka Springs in 1910.²¹

Oliver F. Fauss (1898-1980) became involved with Parham's Houston meetings as a young boy. Moving from Waynoka, Oklahoma to Texas, sometime after 1900, he received Spirit baptism in 1911, and was involved with the early ministries of A. P. Collins and Robert LaFleur. Fauss' ministry spanned several decades, serving as the UPC Assistant General Superintendent from 1947-1972, and briefly, in 1967, as General Superintendent.²² Also, Frank Yadon received Spirit baptism in Welch, Oklahoma under Edward M. Pearson, one of the ministers who worked directly with Parham in Baxter Springs, Kansas.²³

2.2 Early Pentecostal Origins and Oneness Motifs

In addition to the direct influence by Parham upon leaders of early Oneness Pentecostalism, also many of the precursors to Oneness theology were found in the theology of Charles Parham, especially the emphasis on restoration, and his practice, as early as 1902, of baptism in Jesus' name.²⁴ Goff noted, for example, that "though Parham

²¹ Treece, *Beulah*, 68, 98-120, 84-94; Goss, *Winds of God*, 250.

²² O. F. Fauss, *What God Hath Wrought: The Complete Works of O. F. Fauss* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1985), 18-19; *1900 U.S. Census*, Waynoka, Woods County, Oklahoma, 2; see, also, J. L. Hall, *DPCM*, 304-305; T. F. Tenney, *The Flame Still Burns: A History of the Pentecostals of Louisiana* (Tioga, LA: Focused Light, 1989), 14.

²³ Yadon, by 1912, was among the earliest participants in Idaho Pentecostalism. The Yadons figured prominently in Oneness Pentecostalism, see, Martin, *Tulsa*, 9-10; Charlie M. Yadon, *Historical Record of the Oneness Movement in the Northwest* (Puyallup, WA: By the author, 2002), 3-4; Grace Wiens, *Unto You and Your Children: A Story of Pentecostal Pioneers to the Great Northwest* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1977), 36.

²⁴ Charles F. Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness* (Baxter Springs, KS: by the author, 1902), 22-24, in "Baptism," *Apostolic Faith*, October 1912, 4-5; Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: the Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism and American*

never acknowledged the position himself, the Oneness organizers no doubt found a receptive audience among Pentecostals previously baptized by the Parhamite model.”²⁵

Many restorationist motifs of the Holiness and Keswick movements were shared in common with Pentecostalism, for, as Wacker has pointed out, “nineteenth-century Protestantism brimmed with restorationist impulses.”²⁶ Blumhofer further describes the restoration influences as they emerged within the Pentecostal setting:

Pentecostalism gradually emerged as a discrete religious movement among people who were certain that they lived in the days of prophesied restoration, revival, and consummation. Molded by a view of history that anticipated that an intense, brief recurrence of pristine New Testament faith and practice would immediately precede Christ’s physical return to earth, early Pentecostalism is best understood as an expression of restorationist yearning that was shaped in significant ways by the hopes and dreams of disparate groups of late nineteenth-century restorationists.²⁷

The Parham era, though not its influence, faded quickly into the background with the moral allegations against Parham and the success of Seymour and the focus on the Los Angeles revival by 1906-1907. The leadership spotlight rested upon Seymour, with the dramatic events of Azusa Street, followed by an ensuing debate over which of them, if

Culture (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 47, n. 23; Anderson, *Disinherited*, 176.

²⁵ Goff, *Fields White unto Harvest*, 153, n. 24.

²⁶ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 3.

²⁷ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 11-12; cf., Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987), 40-54, arguing that the primary motif and orientation was holiness, rather than restorationism; Dayton also suggests that Oneness Pentecostalism is “a subgroup” of Finished Work Pentecostalism, thus a doctrinal “variation...evoked by a subsidiary problem,” 18; cf., Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 3, with emphases on millenarianism, latter rain, fundamentalism, and the healing movement motifs. For a summary of Blumhofer and Dayton’s differing approaches, as well as that of William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), see, Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 78. Also, note the assertion that Oneness Pentecostalism is, in fact, “...a restorationist movement that has stayed true to its mission in restoring the apostolic pattern for the church,” and that while not claiming “to have completed the return to the apostolic church in every facet, they have not lost their restoration impulse,” in J. L. Hall, “The Restoration Impulse: The Shaping of Oneness Pentecostalism,” Symposium on Oneness Pentecostalism, St. Louis, Missouri, January 11-12, 1996, 2.

either, is the ‘founder’ of the movement. This debate clearly highlights an ambiguity within Pentecostalism regarding both origins and race, as variously discussed, for example, by Cecil Robeck, one of the foremost Azusa Street scholars, and James Goff, the foremost Parham, scholar.²⁸

In the expanded debate, the initial question, as to whether or not the origins are U.S. based at all, but rather traced to multiple points of global origin, is answered in the affirmative by such scholars as Allan Anderson in his detailed account of the spread of early Pentecostalism, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*. From such a perspective, earlier revivals, such as that of the Welsh revival (1904-5), the Pandita Ramabai led revival in India (1905-7), and the ‘Korean Pentecost’ (1907-8), rival that of Parham and Azusa Street.²⁹

Others have suggested, as Tinney rightly points out, that the conflicting opinions regarding U.S. Pentecostal origins “illustrate the tensions between the two segments of the movement.”³⁰ Robeck has concluded that all evidence for origins does, in his opinion, point to North America, as opposed to multiple, independent, and spontaneous points of origin, and, evidently, to an American founding. Additionally, Goff dismisses the a-historical notions of “the fabled ‘no founder’ school, of those content to acknowledge only divine intervention.”³¹

²⁸ Cf. Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., “Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective,” 166-180, and James R. Goff, Jr., “Charles Parham and the Problem of History in the Pentecostal Movement,” 186-191, in *All Together In One Place: Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelism*, Harold D. Hunter and Peter D. Hocken, eds. (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

²⁹ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007), 27-28, 29, 31; Azusa Street has the direct link to the Welsh revival through Joseph Smale and his Los Angeles First Baptist Church, as well as Jennie Moore, who later married Seymour, 47.

³⁰ Tinney, “The Significance of Race,” 58, n. 11.

³¹ Robeck, “Pentecostal Origins,” 170; Goff, “Problem of History,” 188.

The legitimacy of suggesting, therefore, an apparent founder seems appropriate, as does favoring Seymour, although Parham's limited impact preceded the events of the Azusa Street revival. A strong case can be made for Seymour as the twentieth century founder and father of the American movement, at the very least, if not the global movement, based upon the necessity of international and interracial appeal before the fires of Pentecost could rightly be categorized as a movement.

To simply precede, obviously, does not imply any such prior position, for many examples, other than Parham, can be sighted regarding localized belief in and practice of tongues speaking throughout the previous decades leading up to Azusa Street. These individuals and groups were predecessors, and not appropriately viewed as the initiators of the 'movement' itself.

Goff, though, concludes conversely, that the movement originated with Parham, with arguments crucially dependent, again, upon Parham's historical definition of evidential tongues. Nelson, on the other hand, concludes, on the basis of weight of contribution to the movement, that Seymour is the modern founder, but a fact obscured, according to Nelson, due to racial prejudice.³² Without question, Tinney's corollary observation is, indeed, pointed, that "without the important role of blacks there might be no Pentecostal movement of any magnitude today in the United States or the world."³³

2.3 The Black Roots of Early Pentecostalism

The discussion of origins must include, as well, the critically important consideration of the roots, or primary influences, within the early movement, especially apropos to an understanding of interracial Oneness Pentecostalism. The mounting

³² Goff, "Problem of History," 189, n. 2; Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1981, 4, 13, 18, 49.

³³ Cited in Ithiel C. Clemmons, *Bishop C. H. Mason and the Roots of the Church of God in Christ* (Lanham, MD: Pneuma Life Publishing, 1996), 38.

evidence demonstrates the primacy of the Black roots of Pentecostalism in the analysis of the movement, including an appreciation of the implications of the Black experience in the context of the influences within Pentecostalism.

Therefore, preparatory of an examination of the interracial roots of Oneness Pentecostalism, first within the context of the Azusa Street influences, and then that of the Black influences original with Haywood's participation in the emerging movement, these root elements can be discussed from varied perspectives. Especially helpful is the related perspective of Cheryl Sanders' *Saints in Exile: The Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture*. It allows insight into the topic from the prospect of "exile" by first evaluating the views of Black intellectuals, such as Chancellor Williams' view of African uniqueness, E. Franklin Frazier's social pathology, James Baldwin's cultural and religious impoverishment, as well as Howard Thurman's interpretation of the spirituals.³⁴

Sanders' work highlights the fact that the Black Pentecostal experience of 'exile' represents a dimension "on the extreme margins of an American society stratified by race, class, and denominational status."³⁵ She discusses the contributions of James S. Tinney in depth.³⁶ The perceptions of Leonard K. Lovett regarding the study of Black

³⁴ Cheryl J. Sanders, *Saints in Exile: The Holiness Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 106-117.

³⁵ Sanders, *Saints in Exile*, 118-120.

³⁶ James S. Tinney has consistently presented arguments for the Black origins of Pentecostalism, and established the periodical *Spirit: A Journal of Issues Incident to Black Pentecostalism* in 1977; see, "A Theoretical and Historical Comparison of Black Political and Religious Movements," Ph.D. Dissertation, Howard University, 1973; "Exclusivist Tendencies in Pentecostal Self-Definition: A Critique from Black Theology," *Journal of Religious Thought*, vol. 36, no. 1, Spring-Summer, 1979, 32-49; "The Blackness of Pentecostalism," in *The Black Church: A Community Resource* (Washington, DC: Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, 1977); "Black Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," *Christianity Today*, October 8, 1971, 4-6.

Pentecostal origins are also highlighted.³⁷ In addition, especially significant related studies have been produced by both MacRobert and Gerloff.³⁸ In fact, Walter Hollenweger, who is recognized as having been a leading expert on worldwide Pentecostalism, said of MacRobert, formerly with the UPCI of Great Britain, that his scholarship on the subject “goes a long way to explain the root cause for the division between black and White churches.”³⁹

In terms of the Black roots, or origins, of Pentecostalism, Sanders’ basic ideological premise, representative of a host of African American scholarship, suggests convincingly that the Black Church, as well as Pentecostalism in particular, incorporates elements which are rooted in both slave religion ethos and experience. Turner sees this in the Black Baptist, Methodist, Holiness-Pentecostal traditions, in that they “flow in a common course.” “They each make a vigorous effort,” Turner then adds, “to preserve a spirituality that is not intellectualized to an extent that would diminish direct and immediate witness of the Spirit.”⁴⁰

The Black elements, therefore, are part and parcel of a myriad of racial realities, and, thus, the insight, forged during 400 years of slavery and oppression, components which reunited the faith of Pentecost and championed an unparalleled interracial fervor.

³⁷ See, Leonard K. Lovett, “Black Holiness-Pentecostalism: Implications for Ethics and Social Transformation,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University, 1978; “Black Origins of the Pentecostal Movement,” in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, Vinson Synan, ed. (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1975), 135-138

³⁸ MacRobert completed his M.A. dissertation, and Gerloff her Ph.D. thesis, at the University of Birmingham, UK under Walter Hollenweger supervision; see, Iain MacRobert, “The Spirit and the Wall: The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA,” Master of Arts Dissertation, University of Birmingham, England, 1985; Roswith Gerloff, “A Plea for British Black Theologies,” Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, England, 1989.

³⁹ See, Walter Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), his most well-known early work; Walter J. Hollenweger, “Towards an Intercultural History of Christianity,” *International Review of Missions*, vol. 76, no. 304 (Oct 87): 526.

⁴⁰ See, William C. Turner, “Black Evangelicalism: Theology, Politics, and Race,” *Journal of Religious Thought*, vol. 45, no. 2, Winter/Spring 1989, 40-56, 41.

Of course, even in pre-Pentecostal worship, as Baer and Singer have observed, such as in the Great Western Revival of Methodism in the early 1800's, the interracial joining together in the Holiness services, Blacks "eagerly participated in the tumultuous exercises which became characteristic of frontier revivalism."⁴¹

Tinney, Lovett and MacRobert, when observing these elements in the Pentecostal setting, consider them to be characteristically Black. In addition, Mason's biographer, Ithiel Clemmons, suggests that White Pentecostals have, to one degree or another, failed to appreciate, or even recognize, these essential contributions, and have, instead, historically employed the racism of society-at-large to suppress these African "origins and sources."⁴²

In an extension of these arguments, according to Sanders, "Tinney argued that Pentecostalism is *inherently* black," which, in effect, renders cultural what is essentially a spiritual reality, involving the "every kindred" Pentecost component.⁴³ Lovett's comments, nonetheless, represent a far more apropos summary of the importance of the issue of the Black root of Pentecostalism: "One cannot meaningfully discuss the origins of contemporary Pentecostalism, unless the role of blacks is clearly defined and acknowledged." He adds, "It may be categorically stated that black Pentecostalism emerged out of the context of the brokenness of black existence."⁴⁴

Tinney recognizes the need to address the issue of why Pentecostal churches, rather than *all* Black churches, represent this 'Africanness.' In this context, he suggests "that it was born out of revolt against civil religion, that it preserved and embellished

⁴¹ Hans A. Baer and Merrill Singer, *African American Religion in the Twentieth Century: Varieties of Protest and Accommodation* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 5.

⁴² Clemmons, *Mason*, 57, 36-37.

⁴³ Sanders, *Saints in Exile*, 120.

⁴⁴ Lovett, "Black Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," 138; also, Lovett links Black liberation theology and Pentecostalism, see, Sanders, *Saints in Exile*, 120.

practices under slavery and even afterwards.” Therefore, as Tinney understands the meaning of the Azusa Street revival, “Africanisms in worship, long suppressed by slaves and hidden from White view by captive Black people, suddenly came out into the open.”⁴⁵

More importantly, what about glossolalia in African traditional religions and in Islam? The way in which historians choose to trace this strain through the symbolism of Sinai and the Jewish festivals rather than through Islamic and African traditions is in itself a reflection of a Western and Eurocentric world view, which alienates many Third World persons.... Partially, these innovative theologies in Afro-American settings result from competing streams of theological input, many of which flow from oral traditions, African cultural retentions, non-Western or at best syncretistic Afro-Saxon world view.⁴⁶

With respect to these “African antecedents,” one approach has been to compare “West African roots” of religious practice with that of Pentecostalism, such as music and dance, as reviewed in studies such as Herskovits’ *Myth of the Negro Past*. MacRobert cites Herskovits: “...the jerking, rolling and shouting associated with the American Revivals was, in part at least, due to the influence of the Black camp meetings of the 18th and 19th centuries.”⁴⁷ By comparison Goss made specific reference in his biographical account of Parham’s early Apostolic Faith bands, *The Winds of God*, to distinguishing elements such as the fact that such demonstrative practices as “dancing” simply “had had no place” in Parham’s group.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Tinney, “Black Political and Religious Movements,” 178, 278, and “Blackness of Pentecostalism,” 28; see, also, Sanders, *Saints in Exile*, 120, n. 42-43.

⁴⁶ Tinney, “Exclusivist Tendencies,” 33, 41.

⁴⁷ Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina (1748-1775)* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 180-183; Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), 63; Clemmons, *Mason*, 57; MacRobert, “Spirit and the Wall,” 46. Also, cf. Roswith Gerloff, “Blackness and Oneness (Apostolic) Theology: Cross Cultural Aspects of a Movement,” in the Papers of the First Occasional Symposium on Aspects of the Oneness Pentecostal Movement, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, MA, 3-5 July 1984, 83, in which she cites citing Herskovits, *Myth*, 231.

⁴⁸ Goss, *Winds of God*, 192; cf., also, Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 3.

Nevertheless, considerable difficulty accompanies the attempt to assign specifically racial connotations to any psychological and deeply emotive responses observed or experienced in worship. On the other hand, the strong emotional parallel, for example, between deliverance from slave repression and that of inward deliverance, can hardly be missed, especially in light of the corresponding emphases of a resiliently adaptive Pentecostalism to human needs.

Additionally, writers such as MacRobert see in Pentecostalism's undeniable Black influences and antecedent slave experience, as in Hollenweger's words, "not only the reason for their survival in a hostile environment," but also the very things "responsible for the success of early Pentecostalism."⁴⁹ The Black component is thus seen as an essential element, not only in meaningful Pentecostal historiography, but experience. Therefore, the fundamental premise which builds on MacRobert's conclusions is that the very "reason for its growth *lies* in its black roots."⁵⁰ The penultimate Pentecostal element is from this perspective considered to be the Black component, both in its emergence and within later Pentecostalism.

J. Nico Horn concludes, therefore, that "MacRobert makes an understanding of the African origins and the conditions of slavery prerequisites for the understanding of black Pentecostalism."⁵¹ Hollenweger, in accord with MacRobert's work, offers the following summation regarding the significance of Pentecostalism's Black origins:

The black churches developed an oral liturgy, a narrative theology, a maximum participation at the levels of reflection and decision-making. They used dreams and visions as a form of iconography in their communities and expressed their understanding of the body/mind relationship in praying

⁴⁹ Walter J. Hollenweger, "Priorities in Pentecostal Research: Historiography, Missiology, Hermeneutics and Pneumatology," in *Experience in the Spirit: Conference on Pentecostal and Charismatic Research in Europe at Utrecht University*, Jan A. B. Jongeneel, ed. (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 9.

⁵⁰ Hollenweger, "Intercultural History," 529, italics added.

⁵¹ J. Nico Horn, "The Experience of the Spirit in Apartheid," in *Experience of the Spirit*, Peter Huizing and William Bassett, eds., (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), 122.

for the sick. All this was, and still is, considered to be inferior to White Christianity. Yet it is not inferior. And it could become vital for White churches to recover some of the oral culture of our common past.⁵²

This pragmatic approach is similar to Gerloff's attempt to outline the significance of the cross-cultural "Blackness," or Black spirituality, of Oneness Pentecostalism. Gerloff conceptualizes the Black Oneness movement as being "owned by the dispossessed and poor" and "filtered through the spectrum of the experience of the Black diaspora, i.e., through the history of pain and suffering."⁵³ In this way, therefore, according to Gerloff, the Oneness plight is to be conceived of as a sort of African "collective unconscious," in which the struggle for Trinitarian re-interpretation is "part and parcel of the much greater conscious and unconscious struggle of the oppressed and dispossessed against the 'ruling classes' and their White/Western impositions."⁵⁴

In this process, Gerloff's rationale makes a clear separation between the Black Oneness reality of Pentecost and that of "its all-White" Oneness counterpart, both theologically and experientially. This actually is not dissimilar to the approach of Hollenweger, her mentor in research at the University of Birmingham in the UK, in delineating his "five roots" of Pentecostal origins. But, from Gerloff's perception, the priority, or superiority, of Pentecostalism's "Blackness" can be demonstrated in a three-fold, rather than five-fold, manner, as (1) an oral or narrative worship which (2) emphasizes the brokenness of human existence, as well as an (3) emotional empowerment and healing by means of a non-abstract religious reality, rather than the ocular.⁵⁵

Neither the issues regarding the movement's Black origins, nor the emerging issues within Pentecostalism regarding race, which eventually split Oneness

⁵² Hollenweger, "Intercultural History," 529, 531; cf., Clemmons, *Mason*, 41.

⁵³ Gerloff, "Blackness and Oneness," 72.

⁵⁴ Gerloff, "Blackness and Oneness," 76-77.

⁵⁵ Gerloff, "Blackness and Oneness," 82-83; see, Walter J. Hollenweger, "The Black Roots of Pentecostalism," in Allan H. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, eds., *Pentecostalism After a Century* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 32-44.

Pentecostalism in the 1920's, are known to have been addressed directly by Haywood, except for brief comments in a handful of articles. Haywood's stance, though, is probably best understood within the context of his primary, overriding commitment to two parallel visions, the interracial and the theological, which, even in the face of White abandonment, dominated his actions, holding back, perhaps, his critique and censorship.

Tinney, on the other hand, offers a balanced comprehension of any such perceived motives, in the recognition of the interracial predominance in Haywood:

The survival of Black culturalisms over White ones can be largely attributed to those things he [Haywood] countenanced; and the curious mixture of these with White culturalisms was also his doing, intentionally and unintentionally. If some of the things he borrowed from Whites were later rejected by other of his Black brothers and sisters, this can only be viewed as a witness to the resilience of Black religious culture, not as a denigration of his influence.⁵⁶

Tyson's analysis of the later racial schism in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World in 1924 does not speculate much as to the approach or motives of G. T. Haywood in his dealing with the devastating events. But he does suggest that, during the era, "there was a concerted effort by the P.A.W. to rise above the racist attitudes of the times."⁵⁷ If Haywood's methodology can be characterized as patiently silent, R. C. Lawson, Haywood's protégé, followed an opposite approach, insisting on speaking out, and refusing to participate in the events which left that era of Black leadership so vulnerable.

2.4. Profile of the Black Experience – Haywood Slave Origins

Before exploring aspects of the early life of G. T. Haywood, a summary account of the historical Haywood participation in the realities of the twentieth century Black experience of slavery provide profound depictions of the themes of emancipation and freedom which were later key aspects of Pentecostal spirituality. With the ancestry search capabilities now available, in spite of the obstacles to slave research, a sizeable

⁵⁶ Tinney, "Significance of Race," 62.

⁵⁷ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 272.

piece of the missing biographical background material relative to the Haywood slave past can be fit into place.

No evidence suggests that Haywood ever wrote about the issue of slavery, or even the slave past of his own parents, Ben and Ann Haywood. But oral tradition, especially from family interviews, is sufficient to corroborate that Haywood's parents, and their parents before them, were born into slavery in Raleigh, North Carolina, and into one of the prominent Haywood families of that city. Tyson's biography of Haywood, *Before I Sleep*, as well as the interviews conducted by Gary W. Garrett for the most recent Haywood biography, *A Man Ahead of His Times: The Life and Times of Bishop Garfield Thomas Haywood*, confirm these details of oral family tradition.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, slave records themselves, at least of any meaningful detail, are notoriously illusive, leaving the task of finding more precise family slave information a daunting task.⁵⁹ As detailed in *A Genealogist's Guide to Discovering Your African-American Ancestors*, a viable option for locating slave family members also exists in the careful comparison of the pertinent *U.S. Slave Schedules* with the oral accounts, which, in this case, involves the White Haywood slave owners, but only from Raleigh.⁶⁰ It should be noted, in addition, that all federal census records from 1790 to 1860 listed the total

⁵⁸ Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 1-5; Gary W. Garrett, *A Man Ahead of His Times: The Life and Times of Bishop Garfield Thomas Haywood* (Springfield, MO: Apostolic Christian Books, 2002); Garrett is founder of the Apostolic Archive International which houses an important Oneness historical collection, see, www.apostolicarchives.com.

⁵⁹ See, "Finding Slave Records," <http://statelibrary.dcr.state.nc.us/iss/g/slaveprep3.htm> (accessed February 16, 2010); *Guide to Research Materials in the North Carolina State Archives: County Records*, 11th ed. (Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, 1997); *Guide to Private Manuscript Collections in the North Carolina State Archives*, 3rd ed., edited by Barbara T. Cain, Ellen Z. McGrew, and Charles E. Morris (Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History, 1994).

⁶⁰ Franklin Carter Smith and Emily Anne Croom, *A Genealogist's Guide to Discovering Your African-American Ancestors* (Cincinnati, OH: Betterway Books, 2003), especially 129-138.

number of slaves by slave owner, and the age, sex, and color of each slave, but *not their names*, a fact, obviously, that further impedes slave searches.⁶¹

Eaton has concluded that “the Southern colonies received their slaves largely from the West Indies instead of directly from Africa,” perhaps as many as ninety-five percent of their slaves.⁶² Almost all of these were exported from West Africa, nearly half from the west central areas of the Congo and Angola, and half from the areas of Togo, Benin, and Nigeria.⁶³ Although such trade was banned by Britain in 1833, largely due to William Wilberforce’s heroic campaign to end slavery, slave ships smuggled slaves into the Southern colonies at least until the year 1859.⁶⁴

Undeniably, in light of the complexities and severity of these many centuries of forced servitude, the overwhelming challenge is to comprehend the reality of slavery’s human toll as it is intertwined with, as well as central to, the societal and psychological making of these African Americans and their descendants. The crucial task is to recognize the imprint of slavery upon the Black experience. Certainly, Bassett’s insensible suggestion in *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (1896), that “to have come to America as a slave was not without an advantage to the negro,”

⁶¹ “Slave Schedules” were produced by the U.S. Census as separate lists from the census. Also, the majority of the historical documents for Wake County, Raleigh, NC, necessary for tracing slave history in Raleigh, such as deeds, slave schedules, etc., are housed in the *Olivia Raney Local History Library* which specializes in local history and genealogy.

⁶² Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South: The Emergence of a Reluctant Nation*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), 33.

⁶³ Kay and Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina*, 144-145; also, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transatlantic_slave_trade (accessed February 3, 2010). Less than a fifth came from Senegal, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Mozambique, and Madagascar.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Eric Metaxas, *Amazing Grace: William Wilberforce and the Heroic Campaign to End Slavery* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007).

represents a consummate failure to grasp the shattering experience and meaning of slavery.⁶⁵

Perhaps some of the best windows to such a comprehension, as James Rucker demonstrates regarding the “taproots” of African-American folk culture, are the old slave songs or spirituals produced within the very crucible of slavery: “The story of the roots of *African-American Folk Culture* would, of course, start with slavery and the ‘middle passage,’ which is what the slaves called the sea voyage from West Africa to the shores of the American Continent and its accompanying islands.”⁶⁶

Unmistakably, the echo of a similar ethos of hope and of longing is later spiritualized by slave descendents, such as G. T. Haywood, in their songs of ‘the soul.’ In what may be one of his earliest songs, for example, Haywood, who began composing in 1914, writes with this familiar sense of yearning: “there’ll be no curse, no sin, nor sighing,” “nor shall be heard the voice of crying,” intersperses with the refrain, “Some day, some happy day!”⁶⁷

This variety of Haywood song is reminiscent of the African survival spiritual, such as “Lord God Almighty, I’m Free At Last.” Howard Thurman, a recognized interpreter of Black religion and culture, sees in such familiar slave spirituals the resonance of the spiritual desolation of Africans in survival, a desolation of anguish

⁶⁵ John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 14th Series (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 11.

⁶⁶ James “Sparky” Rucker, “Heroes & Hard Times: Exploring the Taproots of African-American Folk Culture,” included in the *Piedmont Council of Traditional Music*, Raleigh, NC, March 2003, 1.

⁶⁷ Haywood, “Some Day,” *Bridegroom Songs*, no copyright, 6; The “no copyright” designation for this hymn is unique to Haywood’s compositions in *The Bridegroom Songs* hymnal, suggesting the likelihood that “Some Day” is one of the earliest of the Haywood hymns. The actual hymn notation is “Not Copyrighted. Let no one do so.”

reaching for hope. The response of progenitors in Thurman's contemplative verse is a poetic, rather than didactic, address:

O my Fathers, what was it like to be stripped of all supports of life save the beating of the heart and the ebb and flow of fetid air in the lungs? In a strange moment, when you suddenly caught your breath, did some intimation from the future give to your spirits a hint of promise? In the darkness did you hear the silent feet of your children beating a melody of freedom to words which you would never know, in a land in which your bones would be warmed again in the depths of the cold earth in which you will sleep unknown, unrealized and alone?⁶⁸

2.4.1 The Southern Black Experience – Raleigh, North Carolina

Both of Haywood's parents were born in Raleigh, North Carolina, Ben Haywood into a slave family in 1855 and Ann Uzzle in 1859.⁶⁹ The very first North Carolina slaves, like the vast majority of other states, were brought in from Barbados in 1627, with the first imported slaves arriving in 1636. North Carolina's very first Haywood likewise came from Barbados, John Haywood who was an ancestor to the slave owners of G. T. Haywood's father Ben. This John Haywood emigrated from Barbados to Raleigh in 1730.⁷⁰

In 1899 John Bassett estimated in his Johns Hopkins University research that the number of Blacks in North Carolina increased from about 36,000 in 1776 to 331,059 slaves and 30,463 free Blacks by 1860. Such statistics indicate, then, that the number of pre-emancipation slaves in North Carolina was rather substantial, thirty three percent of the state's total population.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Howard Thurman, "On Viewing the Coast of Africa," *Deep River and the Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1975), 106, in Sanders, *Saints in Exile*, 117.

⁶⁹ See, Appendix A: The Slave Owner Family of Ben Haywood.

⁷⁰ Hubert Benbury Haywood, Sr., *Sketch of the Haywood Family in North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: by the author, 1956), 2.

⁷¹ John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1899), 77.

Religious fervor, though, in the south was making its impact, as well, amidst the Methodism of John Wesley, who once called the slave trade the “sum of all villainies.” By 1839 the Black to White ratio of North Carolina Methodists had grown to thirty five percent, a “rapid proportional gain,” 26,404 Whites, 9,302 Blacks. The 1787 Methodist Black to White ratio was 10%. And, by 1853, Raleigh’s main Methodist Episcopal Church (Edenton Street) had divided into separate Black and White charges.⁷²

The Black Haywood family in Raleigh was not atypical of slaves of the period, for they lived in what Clement Eaton referred to in his book, *The Old South*, as the “Black Belt” of North Carolina. This was a reference to the concentration of the majority of slaves in North Carolina by the year 1860 into the counties mostly around Raleigh and north into Virginia. Slavery existed throughout North Carolina, but “The Black Belt” highlighted the largest concentrations, that is, only areas in which the slave population was 50% and over.⁷³

The slavery question remained most acute throughout the 1840’s and 1850’s, with the 1850 Fugitive Slave Bill making it more dangerous for runaways to remain in the urban North. The context, therefore, of the Black experience in the United States cried out, “Emancipation.” James Buchanan was elected President in 1856, one year after Ben Haywood’s birth. Buchanan’s bid for the presidency has been characterized as one of the bitterest campaigns in American history. This was due to the slavery issue. The South even called Buchanan’s party the “Black Republicans” due to their anti-slavery platform.

The issues of slavery and emancipation were the most volatile at the time throughout the south. The die was cast shortly after Buchanan was sworn in, due especially to northern resentment of the Southern victory in the Dread Scott Supreme

⁷² Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 53, 56; <http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/0801-0900/HDM0828.PDF>; www.docsouth.unc.edu/nc/bassett99/bassett99.html (accessed February 8, 2010).

⁷³ Eaton, *Old South*, 234.

Court decision. The Scott case was viewed as lending support to the ideology of a ‘non-rights’ slave status for any slave returning to his or her original slave state, and as basically rejecting federal citizenship of slaves.⁷⁴

Raleigh, too, was the birthplace of Andrew Johnson (1808), 17th U.S. President, following Lincoln, who was sworn in as the 16th President March 4, 1861. One month prior, February 4, 1861, Jefferson Davis was elected President of the Confederacy.⁷⁵ By 1860 the population of Raleigh, the North Carolina capital, barely exceeded 5,000.

The fact that the city of Raleigh was named after Sir Walter Raleigh is an indication of its dependency upon the tobacco industry, an industry which was central, as well, to the evolution of the slave plantation throughout North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. Tobacco was even used as a legal medium of exchange in these states. Some of the Haywood families, like other wealthy slave owners, lived in Raleigh, but operated plantations in rural Wake County or in surrounding counties.⁷⁶

Hubert Benbury Haywood, Sr.’s superb genealogical study, *Sketches of the Haywood Family in North Carolina*, and the corresponding censuses and slave schedules, indicate that there are only four Haywood generations in North Carolina up to the birth of G. T. Haywood’s father. The first, John Haywood (1685-1758), migrated to Halifax, County, North Carolina, as a surveyor in 1730 from Christ Church Parish, Saint Michaels Island, Barbados. But John’s ancestry traces back to 1337 in England as a “Heywood”.

⁷⁴ Eaton, *Old South*, 480-482; Mike Murley, “Unionists to Secessionists: Whig Unionists and the Rise of Disunion in North Carolina (1840-1861),” <http://www.gocities.com/rowdyards/articles/AntebellumNC.html?200830> (accessed February 12, 2010).

⁷⁵ Samuel A’ Court Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, reprint 1971, original 1925), 505, 536, 554, 561; Eaton, *Old South*, 478.

⁷⁶ Eaton, *Old South*, 16-17. Tobacco was grown, though, not far away, in the coastal area of the Albemarle Sound region. Note, also, the significance of maritime locale to slavery in David S. Cecelski, *The Waterman’s Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

The William Haywood family, the immediate descendants of the family of John and Mary (Lovett) Haywood, were the slave owners of Ben Haywood and his parents, via their grandchildren who all moved to later Raleigh.⁷⁷ Of John's eight children, Col. William Henry Haywood I (1730-1779), who married Charity Hare, eventually moved from Chowan County into Edgecombe County, where he became the heir to his family's Dunbar plantation. With the fame of his son, another John Haywood, all of the Haywood brothers, sons of William I, relocated to the state capitol. And Ben Haywood was born into the slave family of one of these extended families in Raleigh, one of the grandsons of William I, either Fabius, Edmund, Robert, Richard, or William III.⁷⁸

John Haywood (1755-1827), the son of William I and Charity, and, thus, John and Mary's grandson and namesake, became the most renowned North Carolina Haywood. He became the Treasurer of North Carolina beginning in 1787, a position he held for forty years, and later the Raleigh "Intendant of Police," the equivalent to mayor. He married Elizabeth Eagles Williams, daughter of Col. John Pugh Williams and niece to North Carolina Governor, Benjamin Williams. The praise of John Haywood in William Boyd's *History of North Carolina* is decidedly typical, calling him "the great and good man."⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Hubert Benbury Haywood, Sr., *Sketch of the Haywood Family in North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: by the author, 1956), 2, 3b, 16a; Zella Armstrong, *Notable Southern Families*, vol. II (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1922, reprint, 1997), 151-160, is basically an article, "Haywood," summarized from *Sketch of the Haywood Family*. See, William James, "Iter Lancantrense," Bodelian Library Society, Oxford University. Of John and Mary's seven children, one of the four sons, John, remained unmarried, three were daughters, and William's descendants went to Raleigh. The families of the other sons, Egbert and Sherwood, scattered elsewhere, including Haywood County, which had a 5.4% slave population in 1860, compared to Wake's 39.5%, see John C. Inscoe, *Mountain Masters, Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 61-65.

⁷⁸ See, Appendix A, "The Slave Owner Family of Ben Haywood."

⁷⁹ William K. Boyd, *History of North Carolina*, vol. 2, *The Federal Period (1783-1860)* (Chicago, IL: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1919, reprint 1973), 113.

John Haywood, as a state officer, was required by new state law to move to Raleigh in 1792, where he built his estate bounded by New Bern Avenue and Blount, Edenton, and Person Streets. The estate, built in 1800-1801, is now a museum, Haywood Hall.⁸⁰ John Haywood's move to Raleigh resulted in the relocation of all of his brothers as well, and William Henry Haywood II (1770-1857), Sherwood Haywood (1762-1820), and Stephen Haywood (1772-1850), moved at the same time and built homes on adjacent city squares. The White Haywood families in Raleigh were Episcopalian and charter members in the formation of Christ Church.⁸¹

2.4.2 Emancipation – Reality and Symbol

Ben Haywood not only knew slavery in this Raleigh context, but before reaching his teen years he also experienced the fulfilled hope of emancipation. Much of the nation, though, was ill-prepared for the societal and economic difficulties which ensued. Having grown up in servitude, and as a young adult at the dawn of the post-war reconstruction era, he lived at the end of the epoch of transatlantic trade in human cargo.

Ben, listed variously in sources as “Bennett,” and sometimes “Benjamin,” lived in Raleigh until he moved his family to Indiana in 1879.⁸² He was only nine at the time of Sherman's North Carolina campaign, and the Raleigh occupation was still ongoing at the

⁸⁰ John Haywood's house in Raleigh had the largest room of any building in the city, except for the capital building itself, see, <http://ced.ncsu.edu/2/adventure/haywood/history.html> (accessed March 1, 2010).

⁸¹ Haywood, *Sketch*, 21b, 23, 27-28. See, also, *African-Americans in North Carolina and at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, Timothy D. Pyatt, ed. (Chapel Hill, NC: Center for the Study of the American South, 1995), 131-134; <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/nchatsol/fam00146.html> (accessed February 15, 2010). John Haywood, though well-known as State Treasurer, was, after his 1827 death, accused posthumously of funds misappropriation, and his estate seized to repay the state. All four of the Haywood brother died and are buried in Raleigh.

⁸² “Ben,” 1880 *U.S. Census*, 5; “Bennett,” 1900 *U.S. Census*, 12; 1910 *U.S. Census*, 7; Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 2; Garrett, *Haywood*, 29; “Benjamin,” *Indianapolis Star*, Fall Creek Renovation Notification, May 27, 1910; Golder, *Life & Works*, 1.

time that President Lincoln was assassinated.⁸³ The North Carolina surrender in April of 1865 at “Bennett Place” farm in Durham was the largest surrender of confederate troops in the Civil War. Haywood’s mother, variously listed as “Ann,” “PenAnn” or “Penann,” and commonly known in the Haywood biographies as “Penny Ann,” was six when the historic, and life-changing, southern surrender took place in Durham, just a short distance from Raleigh.⁸⁴

Their names, “Ben,” “Penny,” and “Ann,” are listed among the most common African names in Kay and Cary’s chapter on “Slave Names and Languages” in the book *Slavery in North Carolina*. Kay and Cary note that it is likely that slaves normally “continued to use their correct African names among themselves.” The many common names, such as Ben and Ann, were actually “Anglo-American” versions “derived from like-sounding African names.” Such “naming practices” are believed to have occurred “usually from debarkation onward.”⁸⁵

Africa profoundly affected the names of slaves and the languages they used to communicate with one another and with Whites.... Slaveowners as a rule acquiesced to demands by slaves that they be allowed to control their own names and those of their children.... It is not difficult to envision how Africans named Adebena, Bem, Bena, Benda, Beni, Benin, Beng, or Kwabena could all become Ben or Benn.... Panyin, Pendu, Pene, or Pinde would be called Penny....

Ben Haywood and Ann Uzzle married in late 1876, when Ann had just turned seventeen. Tyson’s oral sources from his early interviews for the first Haywood

⁸³ Haywood, *Sketch*, 73.

⁸⁴ The earliest census, “Ann,” *1880 U.S. Census*, Indianapolis, IN, 5, and *Indianapolis Star*, Fall Creek Renovation Notification, May 27, 1910; cf. *1900 U.S. Census*, 12, *1910 U.S. Census*, 7, which also indicates that both Ben and Ann’s parents were from North Carolina. “Penny Ann,” see, Garrett, *Haywood*, 29, and Golder, *Life & Works*, 1; Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 2, “Penn Ann.” Haywood’s death certificate lists his mother as “Pennan Uzzle,” *Certificate of Death*, “Garfield T. Haywood,” 4/12/1931, Marion County Health Department, Indianapolis, Indiana. Although “Uzzle” slave owners do not appear in the *1860 Raleigh Slave Schedules*, “Uzzle” families were listed as Raleigh residents.

⁸⁵ “Ben” may have meant “a child born on Tuesday,” 146, see, for example, Kay and Cary, *Slavery in NC*, 137-8, 141-2.

biography definitively placed them in Raleigh and there is no indication that they ever lived outside Raleigh. Raleigh is the city to which they “bade farewell forever” when they migrated to Indiana in the late 1870’s. Simon, their first son, was born in Raleigh in the first half of 1877.⁸⁶

In the reconstruction years Raleigh held hopes for many Blacks, establishing, for example, the country’s first African-American college, Shaw University, in 1865. The Episcopal Church of which the White Haywood families were prominent also established St. Augustine’s College for freedmen in 1867. On the other hand, the reconstruction south was a most challenging place for a young, aspiring Black couple after the 1865 Union victory.

By 1869, for example, after the Ku Klux Klan had been introduced in North Carolina for only a period of three years, the extreme racist KKK had reportedly reached a membership of 70,000. The difficult circumstances which contributed to such a state of affairs in the former confederate states encouraged thousands of freedmen across the South to migrate to the northern cities in search of a better life and in hopes of greater racial equality.⁸⁷

The Raleigh *City Directory (1880-1881)*, published in 1879, has sixteen “Haywood” listing which are noted as “(c),” that is, “colored,” or African American, and thirteen White, including Richard, Edmund, and Fabius, noted earlier, but not Ben Haywood. Their second child, Carolina, was born in early 1879, after which the young couple, with two year old son and infant daughter, left their Raleigh home and slave past behind them forever.

⁸⁶ Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 5; In the 1900 U.S. Census, 12, they had been married twenty three years; the marriage license does not appear in the Wake County records; The June 1880 U.S. Census, 5, lists their son “Simon” as three years old.

⁸⁷ Ashe, *History of NC*, 1060-1061; also, the Dr. Manassa T. Pope story, “The Pope House Museum Foundation, Family History,” <http://www.thepopehousemuseum.org/family3.html> (accessed January 30, 2010).

2.5 Haywood in the Late 19th Century U. S. Midwestern Context

Evidently, extremely scant information regarding the Haywood slave past has appeared, especially in the writings of G. T. Haywood himself, and only a few of the biographical accounts even reference it, that of the first Haywood biography, *Before I Sleep*, by James L. Tyson, and the more recent and thorough study of his life by Victoria M. Peagler, *Garfield Thomas Haywood*.⁸⁸ In fact, within the writings of the PAW, including the interracial era, the issue of race is seldom verbalized.

Morris Ellis Golder, whose parents, Earl and Margaret Golder, were among the earliest members of Haywood's congregation, wrote a Haywood *Life and Works* history which has become the most oft-cited account of the biographical highlights of Haywood's life.⁸⁹ Of the two additional Haywood histories, Paul Dugas' ninety-page *Life and Writings of G. T. Haywood*, containing less than twenty-eight pages of historical data, and the most recent biography, *A Man Ahead of His Times*, by Gary W. Garrett, the later is especially significant in its incorporation of personal interviews with the last living key eye-witness participants in Haywood's life and times.⁹⁰

Although Haywood was reared as a child and lived his entire youth and adult life in Indianapolis, he was born in Greencastle, Indiana, approximately forty miles east of

⁸⁸ James L. Tyson, *Before I Sleep: A Narrative and Photographic Biography of Bishop Garfield Thomas Haywood* (Indianapolis: Pentecostal Publications, 1976), 2; Victoria M. Peagler, *Garfield Thomas Haywood (1880-1931): From Migrant's Son to an Internationally Renowned Churchman* (Wright State University Project, Dayton, Ohio, 1993), 6.

⁸⁹ Morris E. Golder, *The Life and Works of Bishop Garfield Thomas Haywood* (Indianapolis: By the Author, 1977); see, also, Charles A. Sims, *From Grace to Glory: The Life & Ministry of Bishop Morris E. Golder* (Columbus, IN: By the author, 2002), 24ff. Taken together with Morris' 1973 *History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World*, his research has, without question, been the most significant and influential.

⁹⁰ Paul Dugas, *The Life and Writings of Elder G. T. Haywood* (Portland, OR: Apostolic Book Publishers, 1968); Gary W. Garrett, *A Man Ahead of His Times: The Life and Times of Bishop Garfield Thomas Haywood* (Springfield, MO: Apostolic Christian Books, 2002); also, the Gary Garrett's Apostolic Archive International, Springfield, MO, houses a significant Oneness historical collection, see, www.apostolicarchives.org.

Indianapolis, a farm region into which Ben and Ann Haywood migrated west from Raleigh, North Carolina.⁹¹ Routes from Raleigh to Indiana entail either a western, then northwestern journey through Kentucky (and the Appalachians) into Indiana, or a northern, then western journey through Virginia (and the Appalachians), West Virginia, then Ohio, into eastern Indiana.

The area to which they moved was a short distance from the home and center of operation of Levi Coffin, one of the well-known leaders of the Underground Railroad. The Underground Railroad, which freed thousands of slaves, operated 'routes' throughout Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, as well as northeastern states, for many years. Levi Coffin was a North Carolina Quaker who moved to Newport, Vermillion County, Indiana to work for the cause of slave freedom.⁹²

Greencastle is at the very center of Putnam County, one county east of Vermillion County, Indiana. The *1880 U.S. Census* lists Ben and his small family along with one boarder working "on a farm," amidst mostly White neighbors, in rural Monroe Township of Putnam County. Monroe is a farming community township directly north of Greencastle, Indiana, and Ben and Ann Haywood lived there from 1879 to 1883. Within a year of settling in this area, Garfield Thomas Haywood was born on July 15, 1880 in Greencastle. In February 1882, a fourth child was born, a daughter Jesse.⁹³

⁹¹ Raleigh, North Carolina, *City Directory (1880-1881)*, Edwards, Broughton & Co., 1879, 81-82, 143; It has not been determined, though, whether or not Ben's father was still living, or if he remained as one of the 1880 'colored' residents listed in the directory, Alfred, Andrew, Andrew J., Eli, Henry, Henry, James, Jerry, Lewis, Miles, Phillip, Primus, Sherman, William, and Willis. Only three Uzzles are listed, Junius E., Rufus S., and Walter S., all White. Robert Haywood died in 1875.

⁹² Levi Coffin and William Still, *Fleeing for Freedom: Stories of the Underground Railroad as Told to Levi Coffin and William Still* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2004), 39; William M. Cockrum, *History of the Underground Railroad* (New York: Negro University Press, 1915), 8, 237-240.

⁹³ *1900 U.S. Census*, 12; *1880 U.S. Census*, 5, Alfred Nubens, boarder; 1875 Map, Putnam County, Indiana, Higgins Belden & Co., http://home.att.net/~Local_History/

The given and surname “Garfield” during this period was not uncommon. The likely inspiration for Haywood’s name, though, was President James A. Garfield (1831-1881), originally an Ohio U.S. Congressman, who, as a Lincoln Republican, won his 1879-1880 campaign for the presidency. In June of 1880 the popular candidate, James Garfield, spoke at the Republican National Convention. He was a graduate of an abolitionist college, a Civil War Brigadier, and then a Major General. The greatest impact of Garfield on the common voter may have been a reputation of being perhaps the poorest candidate to ever campaign for the highest office of the land.

President James Garfield possessed several characteristics which ingratiated him to the disinherited, the poor and the downtrodden, not the least of which was his emphatic position regarding the advancement of African Americans. Even in his inaugural address Garfield made the needs of Blacks a central issue:

There is no middle ground for the negro race between slavery and equal citizenship.... Freedom can never yield its fullness of blessings so long as the law or its administration places the smallest obstacle in the pathway of any virtuous citizen.... The elevation of the Negro race from slavery to the full rights of citizenship is by far the most important political change we have known since the adoption of the constitution in 1787.⁹⁴

In the Black struggle for freedom, Garfield also remarked that African American had “followed the light as God gave them to see the light.” Unfortunately, sworn in March 4, 1881, he served only two hundred days before he died from an assassin’s bullet, September 19, 1881.⁹⁵

[Putnam-Co-IN.htm](#) (accessed October 7, 2009); even the name “Garfield Thomas Haywood” is found in Greencastle, to a Haywood family in 1856.

⁹⁴ <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/inaugural-exhibit.html#garfield> (accessed April 5, 2010), 7-9, with the hand-written inaugural speech of President James A. Garfield; Ira Rutkow, *James A. Garfield (The American Presidents)* (New York: Times Books, 2006), 1-4, 115-122; <http://biographypresgarfield.homestead.com/biography.html> (accessed April 5, 2010). Garfield lived eighty days after he was shot by Charles Guiteau on July 2, 1881.

⁹⁵ <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/inaugural-exhibit.html#garfield>, 7-9.

2.5.1 Indianapolis and the Black Experience

Leaving the farm in Greencastle, Indiana in 1883, Ben and Penny Ann Haywood moved their family of six to the Haughville area of west Indianapolis in order to improve themselves. Ben Haywood began work at an east side foundry, to and from which he had to walk. With the arrival of five more Haywood children in Indianapolis between 1887 and 1902, all nine were raised in Haughville. They certainly knew the nuanced changes in the plight of African Americans in the post-reconstruction era in the U.S. Midwest.⁹⁶

Uncertainty regarding exact starting dates for Haywood's schooling is probably best solved by assuming the age sixteen, as Tyson suggests, as the accurate age at which he was forced to drop out in order to work to help support the family, a scenario not uncommon in the 1890's.⁹⁷ Therefore, at the age of six, Haywood would have started school in 1886 at the Elementary School #52, which he attended through the 1893-94 term.

In 1894 he entered the integrated Indianapolis Shortridge High School for a period of two years. Shortridge, named after Indiana educator Abram C. Shortridge, championed education for all, and admitted its first Black student in 1872.

The school act of 1877 clarified the matter of high school attendance by providing that when a child attending a Negro school showed that he was prepared to be placed in a higher grade than that afforded by the school, he was to be admitted to a White school. There was no high school for Negroes, and a sizable number of black students attended Indianapolis, later Shortridge, High School with almost no problems until the 1920's.⁹⁸

By 1878 the students were almost exclusively White children of laborers. But, by 1894, Shortridge, then located at Michigan and Pennsylvania Streets, provided the young Garfield with an excellent breadth in secondary education. During his time at Shortridge

⁹⁶ Peagler, *Haywood*, 7; Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 3.

⁹⁷ Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 3-4.

⁹⁸ Laura Sheerin Gaus, *Shortridge High School 1864-1981 in Retrospect* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Society, 1985), 15.

High School, due to overcrowding, the interracial Shortridge was also using the Virginia Street annex, referred to as “High School #2.”⁹⁹ Haywood would, though, not see racist educational segregation in Indianapolis for thirty years, or until 1927, the exact historical time frame in which he also saw the interracial hopes of the Indianapolis-based PAW dashed within the context of the organization’s ministerial racial upheaval.

As the 1800’s drew to a close, Simon and Carrie had left home and transferred their family responsibilities to the oldest remaining son, Garfield. In 1896 it was necessary, therefore, for Haywood to leave school in order to assist with the financial support of a family with six younger siblings.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, by the time Haywood left Shortridge, at the age of sixteen, he had demonstrated exceptional academic skills and a profound artistic ability, which later landed him a job, as a sketch artist, with more than one of Indianapolis’ professional newspapers.

By the time the Topeka revival broke out in Kansas, January 1901, Haywood was a young twenty year old, working at various jobs about Indianapolis, but who had been seeking opportunity to get on at a newspaper that could use his talent at drawing. Also, he had met Ida Howard some time in the late 1890’s, a young lady four years his junior, who had moved to Indianapolis from Owensboro, Kentucky. Owensboro is thirty two miles from the Indiana southern border, near Evansville, Indiana.

During this time, prior to the events of the Azusa-inspired Indianapolis revival, the Haywood family was attending the Haughville St. Paul Baptist Church. According to the 1900 census report, the young 19 year old Haywood was working as a “day laborer” in Indianapolis and living with his family at 948 Bismarck Avenue, in the Wayne Township community of Haughville.

⁹⁹ Shortridge High School Collection, 1870-1981, 1995, http://www.indiana-history.org/library/manuscripts/collection_guides/m0482.html (accessed January 28, 2010); Gaus, *Shortridge*, 28.

¹⁰⁰ 1900 U.S. Census, Indianapolis, Indiana, 12.

Garfield Thomas Haywood and the eighteen year old Ida Howard were married on February 11, 1902. It would be six years later almost to the day that they would both receive Pentecostal baptism at a downtown Indianapolis mission. The Haywood's only child, Fannie Ann, was born the year after their marriage, in 1903. Information regarding Haywood's parents during this period is sketchy, but after 1910, as Haywood's ministry was on the ascendency, Ben and Ann Haywood no longer appear in U.S. Census records together.¹⁰¹

2.5.2 Reflections of the Black Experience in Black Publishing

The rare opportunity to view the African American experience through the lens of the inner-workings of Black newspaper publishing was provided Haywood at a young age, broadening his perspective of the issues relative to the Midwest, African Americans, culture, religion, and a variety of vital concerns. The young Haywood became a newspaper illustrator, writer, and artist.

G. T. Haywood possessed an exceptional talent, as well as a strong determination, to be a successful professional illustrator, gaining him a position with the prominent Black newspaper, *The Freeman*, in Indianapolis. He also did some work for the *Recorder*, which became a weekly in 1896.¹⁰² *The Recorder* dealt with local Black issues, whereas *The Freeman* was "the first and only illustrated journal of the African-American race," nationwide in scope, with columnists from across the country. *The Recorder*, established by George P. Stewart and William H. Porter, and inherited by

¹⁰¹ Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 4-5; 1900 U.S. Census, 12; *Index to Marriage Record 1901-1905*, County Clerk's Office, Marion County, Indiana, OS Page 555.

¹⁰² *The Freeman*, which became a weekly by 1888, circulated 1884-1927, whereas the *Recorder* continues to the present; cf., also, Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 10; Important Indiana Black newspapers of the period included *The Argus* 1886-1887), *The Courier* (1893-late 1890's), *The Leader* (1879-1890), *The Ledger* (1913-1925), and *The (Colored) World* (1883-1932), see, John W. Miller, *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Society, 1982).

Fannie Caldwell Stewart in 1924, used few sketches, cartoons, or illustrations before 1906.¹⁰³

The experience at *The Freeman*, undoubtedly, provided Haywood with exceptional opportunity for the broadening of his horizons early on. *The Freeman* was owned by an ex-slave from Tennessee, George L. Knox, who purchased the paper from the founder, Edward E. Cooper, in 1892. Knox had made his earlier fortune as an owner of a large barbershop in Indianapolis, becoming “the city’s most conspicuously successful black businessman” by 1884.¹⁰⁴ When Haywood joined the *Freeman* in 1902, the paper was Republican, and circulation, from 1903-1913, went from 16,000-20,000.¹⁰⁵

Before his 1884 move to Indianapolis, Knox was working for the cause of Black justice in Greenfield, Indiana, twenty five miles due east of Indianapolis, by assisting to transport Blacks north. Knox writes that the *Hancock Democrat* “castigated local Republicans for encouraging the ‘pauperized exodusters’ from the South to settle in Indiana, claiming that it was merely a political scheme to strengthen the Republican party.”¹⁰⁶

Even the Haywood family itself could very likely have been assisted by Knox in their trek to Indiana. The Knox autobiography, in fact, describes a train with twenty five Black immigrants coming to Greenfield, Indiana, which the *Hancock Democrat* reported

¹⁰³ Darrel E. Bigham, “The Black Press in Indiana, 1879-1985,” in *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985*, Henry Lewis Suggs, ed., (West Port, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 55; see, also, James H. Madison, *The Indiana Way: A State History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 169-173, 241-244, 318-320, see, http://www.indianahistory.org/library/manuscripts/collection_guides/P0303.html (accessed January 24, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ George L. Knox, *Slaves and Freemen: The Autobiography of George L. Knox* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1979), 4, 18-20. By 1890 in Indianapolis 34% of the barbers were Black.

¹⁰⁵ Knox, *Slave and Freeman*, 30-32. Although, from 1907-1917, Knox states that there was “little in the performance of the Republican party in Indiana to inspire... black voters,” it was not until the KKK surfaced in the 1920’s that he experienced “disillusionment with Republican leaders at all levels,” 32.

¹⁰⁶ Knox, *Slave and Freeman*, 213, n. 72, 110.

as the arrival, on January 8, 1880, of “another lot of North Carolina Negroes.”¹⁰⁷ It is also possible that Knox and Haywood attended the same Methodist Episcopal Church, at least for a while, known as the Simpson Chapel.¹⁰⁸

Knox’s life also intersected Haywood’s at another interesting juncture. A White, female healing evangelist, Marie B. Woodworth-Etter, began revivals in Greenfield in the early 1880’s. Her camp meeting near Los Angeles in 1913, which Haywood attended, played a pivotal role in the emergence of Oneness Pentecostalism, though Woodworth-Etter did not embrace it herself. Knox reported that, by 1884, he was “in charge” of the “racially integrated” meetings (1884-1886) which had reached six thousand in attendance, and in which “Whites and colored” were “all kneeling at the same bench.”¹⁰⁹

Warner similarly notes that her meetings had “racial equality from start to finish,” and that “black participation began as early as her 1885 Harford City, Indiana meeting, where she used a black barber, Ananias Frazier, as her soloist.” Woodworth-Etter, according to Warner, was “one of the most popular evangelists and miracle workers of the late nineteenth century.” Knox described her camp meeting in Lawrence, Indiana, in 1886, recalling that “On Wednesday she had several in a trance, men fell, White and black, mainly White, as though they had been shocked.” These worshipers, he noted, were rendered “unconscious” for three or four hours.¹¹⁰

Attestation to the extraordinary talents of G. T. Haywood extended, of course, beyond the phenomenal work that he produced for *The Freeman and Recorder*. His level

¹⁰⁷ Knox, *Slave and Freeman*, 214, n. 74. By the June 1880 *U.S. Census* the Haywoods were already living in Greencastle, Indiana, although Garfield was not born until July 15, 1880, and, therefore, not included in the census.

¹⁰⁸ Knox, *Slave and Freeman*, 20, and J. Gordon Melton, *Biographical Dictionary of American Cult and Sect Leaders* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 106.

¹⁰⁹ Knox, *Slave and Freeman*, 123, 125, 126, n. 114.

¹¹⁰ Knox, *Slave and Freeman*, 127; Wayne E. Warner, “Maria B. Woodworth-Etter: Prophet of Equality,” in *Portraits of a Generation: Early Pentecostal Leaders*, James R. Goff and Grant Wacker, eds., (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 212, 205.

of artistic sophistication was exceptional, reflected in his association with some of the era's finest talent and in their recognition of his abilities, including artist W. E. Scott and poet A. B. Thompson, both African Americans. Haywood maintained, for example, a "very close" friendship with the Indianapolis-born, worldwide renowned professional African American artist, William Edouard Scott (1884-1964). Scott, who studied in Paris beginning in 1904, was known for his refusal to paint Blacks as slaves in order to help reverse old stereotypical perceptions. In fact, many of Scott's paintings had nothing to do with race.¹¹¹

The aspiring Indianapolis African American poet Aaron Belford Thompson (1883-1929) published a third book of poetry in 1907 known as *Harvest of Thoughts* and the illustrator for the project was none other than Garfield Thomas Haywood. The well-known Indiana poet James Whitcomb Riley (1849-1916), who was designated the "Hoosier poet," wrote the introduction to Thompson's new work in which Haywood had sketched seven illustrations to accompany his poetic themes. As such they therefore highlighted Thompson's overall autumn themes which included love, race, frivolity, as well as slavery and religion.¹¹²

2.6 Haywood's Racial Voice as a Black Newspaper Illustrator

Haywood's *Freeman* sketch work extended over a longer period of time than previously assumed, from at least as early as December 1902 and extending well into the period after which he had begun his Indianapolis pastorate, at least into the year 1909. This employ continued, therefore, well over a year after Haywood's initial Pentecostal

¹¹¹ Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 4; see, Wm. E. Taylor, ed. *A Shared Heritage: Art by Four African Americans* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, with Indiana University Press, 1996).

¹¹² Aaron Belford Thompson, *Harvest of Thoughts* (Indianapolis, IN: by the author, 1907), 21, 39, 50b, 58b, 72b, 84b, 104b.

experience, yet he apparently began his pastoral ministry very shortly after his conversion at a downtown Indianapolis mission.¹¹³

Throughout his lifetime Haywood continued to do produce notable artistic sketches, charts, and paintings, for both family and church, which are now far more widely known than any of his earlier professional material. He did the masthead artwork, for example, which first appeared on Frank Ewart's earlier periodical *The Good Report* in November 1913.¹¹⁴ But, obviously, his sketches for the Indianapolis newspapers are of special interest due to their representation of Haywood's earliest known political mindset, especially his responses to racial issues of the period.

For a while Haywood even became the regular Saturday cartoonist for *The Freeman*. This is an era of Haywood's career largely overlooked, including especially the much needed evaluation of his numerous 'racial' and 'political' cartoons. Such an analysis reveals some very important insights into Haywood's own approach to racial concerns, but about which he wrote very little as it pertained to the church and the Pentecostal movement.

An evaluation of the illustrations through the years shows that *The Freeman* 'political/racial' themes were actually quite common, and usually dominant, comprising well over half of the total Haywood sketches annually. Of course, the sketches accompanied articles, most of which were unsigned, but which may have been authored by Haywood. His work at *The Freeman* spanned the period of the Republican

¹¹³ See, Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 10, Peagler, *Haywood*, 9, Garrett, *Haywood*, 32, regarding Haywood's "factory" or "iron foundry" employment. Certainly, in 1909, long after he became pastor, Haywood's *Freeman* work continued, indicating that he held both positions.

¹¹⁴ Frank Ewart, "Editorial," *The Good Report*, Los Angeles, California, November 1, 1913, vol. 1, no. 6, 1, 2, "The plate of the beautiful and expressive heading of this paper is taken from a drawing sent to us by Elder G. T. Haywood of Indianapolis, Indiana. It is a real work of art, and in keeping with the name and pretensions of our paper, it incriminates no one.... We rejoice to believe also that God inspired our Beloved Brother Haywood to draw this new heading and present it to us."

presidential victories of Roosevelt (1901-1909) and Taft (1909-1913). In 1903-1904, twenty two of thirty three sketches were racial cartoons, depicting the government, for example, as a “Dr. Jekyll” in its treatment of a 1903 Black postal worker in Tennessee.

During this early period, 1902-1903, voter ‘disfranchisement,’ was the most addressed issue, but other themes were advanced, such as unions and industry, citizenship, work prejudice, the lack of protection from mobs, and even “Uncle Sam’s” putting foreign relations above negro relations. One of the most intriguing depictions is that of “prejudice” as a three-headed monster, and one of the earliest Haywood cartoons shows a Black man being beaten with a whip. Also, Benjamin T. Tillman, the South Carolina Governor (1890-1894) who became a U.S. Senator (1895-1918), is often depicted or noted, whose blatant racist policies were used to fight against the interracial Republican coalition.¹¹⁵

Early in 1904, Haywood was very effectively satirizing the prejudice, for example, that disallowed Blacks in certain train sleeper cars. Yet another sketch shows a man, labeled “negro,” about to fall, being attacked by large mosquitoes labeled “race hatred,” “union,” “poverty,” “injustice,” and “violence.” One arm is chained by “labor opposition” and the other by “prejudice,” as southern states pierce his legs with sharp thorns and the blood drips to the ground.¹¹⁶ Clearly, these political and racial depictions were anything but haphazard, but rather, extremely pointed, most effective, often quite

¹¹⁵ See, the three-headed monster sketch, *The Freeman*, G. Haywood, “A Formidable Foe,” June 20, 1903, vol. 16, no. 24; G. T. Haywood, *The Freeman*, December 27, 1902, vol. 15, no. 52; Tillmanism, see, Knox, *Slave and Freeman*, 30, and G. T. Haywood, *The Freeman*, “What Credit Is It For An Elephant To Crush An Infant,” January 9, 1904, vol. 17, no. 1.

¹¹⁶ G. Haywood, *The Freeman*, “It Looks Like A Case of Dr. Jekyll & Mr. Hyde,” May 16, 1903, vol. 16, no. 19; G. Haywood, *The Freeman*, “The Negro Looks Quit as Well as Any in That Bunch,” January 23, 1904, vol. 17, no. 3; G. Haywood, *The Freeman*, “Can He Make It?,” January 2, 1904, vol. 17, no. 1.

moving, and a means of addressing some of the most important societal issues of the day facing Flacks in the Midwest and the world.

By 1907 Haywood introduced an interesting identifying mascot, a tiny “coon,” which he used as a humorous, yet, evidently, clever satirical reversal on racist attitudes, as an artistic means of clarifying issues in each of his later cartoons, to the end of, but not after, 1908.¹¹⁷ By this period, it was becoming more evident that Haywood found less and less hope in the political process for displacing societal injustice. After 1907, and following his Pentecostal experience, religious-moral themes became more prominent, depicting, for example, Jesus and moral concepts from the Proverbs.¹¹⁸

One of the later sketches, in the summer of 1909, depicts a large hog, labeled “evil society,” pulling a lamb to which it is yoked, labeled “the innocent,” into the “degradation mire.” Another moralistic portrayal in October 1909 shows a scene from a man’s life, now in prison, being disobedient to his mother as a child, with the caption: “Bend the sapling, lest it grow up crooked and trouble you.”¹¹⁹

In addition to the moral themes, the political-racial themes continued. In 1907 and 1909, just over 40% of the sketches were racial, but for 1908 there was an increase to 70% of the illustrations depicting racial concerns. In fact, one of the most pointed illustrations showed a lynching, with the seriously satirical caption reading: “Protection in America by Uncle Sam.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Compare the negative use of “coon,” relative to race, *Historical Dictionary of American Slang*, vol. 1, (New York: Random House Reference, 1997), 477, stating that “coon” was used contemptuously “of a black person,” perhaps as early as 1829.

¹¹⁸ G. Haywood, *The Freeman*, “The First Easter Morn,” April 10, 1909; “To The Graduate,” June 19, 1909; “Fools and Their Money Soon Part,” August 7, 1909; “What Have I Done?” September 11, 1909; “Home Life,” December 4, 1909.

¹¹⁹ G. Haywood, *The Freeman*, “The Inevitable Consequences,” June 26, 1909; “Bend the Sapling,” October 9, 1909.

¹²⁰ G. Haywood, *The Freeman*, “Liberia – Shall It Be Like This?” May 1, 1909; A 1907 sketch uses the biblical Goliath as the “political enemy” of the “the negro” (shown

2.7 Conclusion

These were powerful reflections upon the import of race in the nineteenth century American context, indication of the racial balance and perspective of the young G. T. Haywood, and a sufficient influence to serve as a driving metaphor for his religious and ministerial attitudes regarding race over the second half of his life. Two differing perspectives regarding race emerged within the Pentecostal context which were sure to collide, that of Parham in the south and southwest region of the United States, with its racist underpinnings, and that of the growing interracial and African American segment of the movement originating with Seymour and the Azusa Street revival.

Perhaps more than any other leader in Pentecostalism the mild-tempered, multi-talented Haywood was to become the leader in the pursuit of the interracial impulse within the movement, a vision which was given a more enduring prominence within Oneness Pentecostalism. Certainly, Haywood's slave past and Black American experience were powerful realities which persistently and significantly informed his passion and concepts with regard to every aspect of his racial ideology, including his concerns within the context of Oneness Pentecostal development and fellowship.

G. T. Haywood would quickly become the epitome of what scholar of Pentecostalism David Martin described as Pentecostalism's "effervescence and charismata," a dependence upon special gifts which so troubled Evangelicalism in the wake of the unbounded advance of the early tongues movement. According to Martin, a clear rejection of these "signs, wonders and gifts" characterized the Evangelical pursuit for "control" and "stabilization" in its resistance to Pentecostalism.¹²¹

as David) holding a sling labeled "conservative action," G. Haywood, *The Freeman*, "A Modern Goliath," November 2, 1907.

¹²¹ Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 40-41.

It was precisely this dependence upon such gifts which energized Pentecostalism and attracted so many. “And in these days of darkness, when faith has fled away,” says Haywood’s early hymn, “we hear the voice of Jesus to His faithful servants say, ‘These signs shall follow them that believe on my name’!”¹²²

Haywood remains one of the foremost examples of the characteristically significant Black influence within early Pentecostalism.¹²³ Seven brief years from the time of his 1908 conversion, which was also the timing of his start as an Indianapolis pastor, Haywood’s church would become one of the largest, and his ministry one of the most esteemed, in Pentecost. Converting to the Oneness position in 1915, his influence and significance in the overall advance of Oneness Pentecostalism was contemporaneous with three of the most significant early Oneness leaders, Frank Ewart, Andrew Urshan, and Howard Goss. As a uniquely eminent leader, Tinney points out, “no other figure looms as large in all historical accounts of the movement.”¹²⁴

Even with the U.S. south and Midwest as the two key regional centers of emerging Oneness theology and churches, Haywood was prominent enough to attract even the southern leadership toward a meaningful interracial vision of the Pentecostal mission. In this way he would, at least temporarily, overcome the Parham influence in a region otherwise adverse to interracial aspirations. In so doing, Haywood shaped the early movement in a profound manner. This strong interracial component within the movement served to highlight, as well, the Black roots of Pentecostalism, its appeal within the context of emancipation and deliverance, and the stress upon the experiential.

¹²² G. T. Haywood, “These Signs Shall Follow Them,” stanza 4, copyright 1914, *Bridegroom Songs*, 33.

¹²³ At the time of the outbreak of the Azusa Street revival Haywood was a twenty-five year old African American professional with eyes on an urban career. He would not receive his own Pentecostal experience for nearly two more years. Yet, by 1915, he would spearhead the impact of the emerging Oneness movement, with Indianapolis as its early epicenter.

¹²⁴ Tinney, “Significance of Race,” 61.

All of these elements, which had been exemplified in the theological and racial differences between leaders such as Seymour and Parham, were to be reassembled within the emerging Oneness movement and allowed to play out in new and radically different forms. The interracial impulse was paramount among these re-emerging elements which shaped early Oneness Pentecostalism, beginning in 1913, but as they were played out in a fresh context, few outside its ranks offered much hope of meaningful success.

CHAPTER THREE

The Impact of the Azusa Street Revival in Early Oneness Pentecostalism (1906-1911)

3.1 The Emergence & Interracial Impact of the Azusa Street Revival¹

William J. Seymour's Azusa Street mission in Los Angeles not only had a substantial influence on early Pentecostalism, but also upon early Oneness Pentecostal leadership due to both the direct and indirect role the mission played in the experience of Spirit baptism among so many who were to soon emerge as Oneness leaders.² The preeminent Oneness body, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, was established by

¹ The Azusa Street revival, for most Pentecostals, is viewed, as Robins suggests, as "the formative and definitive event of early Pentecostalism." And, as Robeck notes, it was, indeed, the multicultural and interracial experiment of the Azusa Street revival which contributed most to the globalization of the movement, "the paramount center from which the Pentecostal movement spread prior to 1915," see, R. G. Robins, "Azusa Street Mission," in *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, Daniel G. Reid, ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 98; Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville, TN: Nelson Reference & Electronic, 2006), 16. Originally, Seymour was with Parham's movement, but it was the Azusa Street revival's interracial and international scope and mission, and thus Seymour's work and leadership, unlike that of Parham's, that thrust fledgling Pentecostalism into the worldwide spotlight.

² Yet, in spite of Seymour's impact upon his Pentecostal conversion, Haywood abandoned the Wesleyan view of sanctification held by both Seymour and Mason, probably in 1911, and espoused Durham's view. And, equally significant, as a precursor to his Oneness conversion, Haywood also came to view the Pentecostal experience itself as the means by which one actually *enters* the church. All other versions of faith, such as "conversion," for him, were merely examples of an "abnormal Christianity." This became the theme of one of his most well-known hymns "Baptized into the Body," better known as "Are You in the Church Triumphant?" Thus, before he espoused the Oneness view of the Godhead, he already viewed the baptism of the Holy Spirit as the "one way to *enter in*, just as they did on Pentecost." Haywood held to a view of Spirit baptism, which became essentially the Oneness view, equating it with, or as an essential element of, the new birth. Therefore, prior to his Oneness conversion, Haywood wrote: "We conclude that the new birth and the baptism of the Holy Ghost are synonymous," see, *Bridegroom Songs*, 22, G. T. Haywood, "Baptized Into The Body," stanza 1, copyright 1914, italics added; *The Good Report*, Frank Ewart, ed., "Baptized Into One Body," December 1, 1913, vol. 1, no. 7, 3. Haywood's position on Spirit baptism as an essential element of the new birth and on speaking in tongues may be his most significant doctrinal contribution to the emerging Oneness movement.

the Azusa Street mission. Certainly the direct and profound impact upon Indianapolis Pentecostalism and Haywood has been far-reaching indeed.³

From 1895 to 1899 Seymour lived and worked in Indianapolis, during Haywood's teen years, a time when ninety percent of Blacks still lived in the fourteen southern states. But, even in Indianapolis, almost no social contact existed between the races.⁴

³ Even before Pentecostalism's arrival in Indianapolis, G. T. Haywood may have been acquainted with Seymour and the interracial phenomenon in Los Angeles, involved as he was with the Black issues of the day, via Indianapolis' Black newspapers, *The Freeman*, and *The Recorder*. After his 1908 Indianapolis Pentecostal experience, Haywood very likely visited Azusa Street, perhaps, though, only after the revival's heyday, which Anderson's *Vision of the Disinherited* suggests was "declining" as early as 1909, see, Anderson, *Disinherited*, 137, based upon an assessment by Frank Bartleman. Haywood certainly later attended some of the Arroyo Seco camp meetings. But the era of Haywood's greatest influence, and the emergence of Oneness Pentecostalism, followed the years of Seymour's waning influence, especially after 1912, paralleling the deterioration of the interracial aspects of the Azusa Street revival. See, also, Douglas J. Nelson, "For Such a Time as This: The Story of Bishop William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, England, 1981; Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville, TN: Nelson Reference & Electronic, 2006); Craig Borlase, *William Seymour: A Biography* (Lake Mary, FL: Charisma House, 2006); Rufus G. W. Sanders, *William Joseph Seymour: Black Father of the 20th Century Pentecostal/ Charismatic Movement* (Sandusky, OH: Xulon Press, 2003); Larry Martin, *The Life & Ministry of William J. Seymour* (Joplin, MO: Christian Life Books, 1999).

⁴ Seymour, while living in Indiana, shifted from his Catholic upbringing to join Simpson Chapel, a Methodist church, which Haywood is also known to have attended, as did the owner of *The Recorder*, George Knox. Their Simpson Chapel attendance may have coincided, in which case Haywood would have been in his late teens during Seymour's membership there, see, Borlase, *Seymour*, 48, 44-47; Nelson, "For Such a Time," 48 n. 18, 33; Robeck, *Azusa*, 28, "we do not know which congregation," suggests that he may have attended one of the other Methodist churches. R. Sanders, *Seymour*, 50, cites Nelson's contention that Simpson Chapel was the "only legitimate possibility." Several of Haywood's members are known to have converted to Pentecostalism from Bethel AME and Allen Chapel AME, Golder, *Haywood*, 4. Seymour soon became involved, according to some historians, with an interracial holiness group known as the Evening Light Saints, probably first in Indianapolis. Daniel S. Warner, founder of Evening Light Saints, also known as the Church of God Reformation movement, based out of the nearby community of Anderson, Indiana. When Seymour moved on to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1900, he is believed to have attended God's Bible College, operated by Martin Knapp, a minister with this group. See, also, Robeck, *Azusa*, 29-30, citing Emma Cotton, "The Inside Story of the Azusa Street Outpouring," *Message of the Apostolic Faith* (April 1939), 1; J. Sanders, 51; Martin, *Seymour*, 75-77, citing John W. V. Smith, *A Brief History of the Church of God Reformation Movement* (Anderson, IN:

By 1900 patterns of race relationships had evolved which were to remain largely unbroken for almost half a century. The conditions of Negroes in Indiana remained far more favorable than that of members of their race in the states of the South.... But the hopes of equality and opportunity which had been bright in the years following the Emancipation had fallen far short of realization.⁵

By 1903 Seymour was living in Houston working with the African American led Holiness church of Lucy Farrow.⁶ By 1905 Farrow had introduced Seymour to Parham's Apostolic Faith meetings at which African Americans had to sit or stand in the back. Seymour was not allowed to seek Spirit baptism at the altar with Whites.⁷ After arriving in Los Angeles in February 1906, the famed revival erupted on April 9th when Edward and Mattie Lee received Spirit baptism.⁸ Revival broke out on Bonnie Brae Street.⁹

Warner Press, 1976), 107, 12-15, 33; also, Charles William Shumway, "A Critical Study of the Gift of Tongues," Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1914, 173.

⁵ Nelson, 162 n. 70, from Emma Lou Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1957); Nelson, 33, 159, 173.

⁶ Martin, *Seymour*, 73-75, places Seymour first in Chicago before moving on to Cincinnati, and, then, after leaving Cincinnati in 1902, possibly living in Columbus, Ohio before Houston.

⁷ Consequently, Seymour did not receive Spirit baptism until later in Los Angeles on April 12, 1906 at the Asberry home on Bonnie Brae. The realities of Parham's racial attitudes, though, were soon to become even more apparent as the events at the Azusa Street mission unfolded. Visiting the interracial services in Los Angeles in October of 1906, Parham's attitudes toward interracial Pentecostalism were demonstrated to be distinctly racist. See, especially, Allan Anderson, "The Dubious Legacy of Charles Parham: Racism and Cultural Insensitivities Among Pentecostals," *Pneuma*, no. 27, vol. 1 (2005): 51-64, delineating the "racial slurs" and "racist doctrines" resulting in a "painful myopia" to race, 54, 63; also, Robeck, *Azusa*, 43-50; Anderson, *Disinherited*, 60-61; Nelson, "For Such A Time," 167.

⁸ Seymour arrived in February to assume duties at Julia Hutchins' Los Angeles Black holiness church, but by March he had been locked out due to his message regarding tongues, forcing him to meet in the home of members Richard and Ruth Asberry on Bonnie Brae, while staying with Edward and Mattie Lee on South Union Avenue, see, Borlase, *Seymour*, 102-103. Julia and Willis Hutchins migrated to California from Georgia sometime after 1900, *1920 US Census*, Los Angeles, 11; She was born March 1872, *1900 US Census*, Atlanta, Georgia, 5. The Hutchins embraced Pentecostalism and became missionaries for a short while to Liberia in 1906; see, also, Estrela Alexander, *The Women of Azusa Street* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2005), 24-35.

⁹ Frank Bartleman, another of the prominent Azusa Street revival participants who later joined the Oneness movement, wrote: "It seemed that every one had to go to 'Azusa.' Missionaries were gathered there from Africa, India, and islands of the sea. Preachers and workers had crossed the continent, and come from distant islands, with an

Robeck says of participant Frank Bartleman that his “significance as a social and religious critic” regarding his important eyewitness account of the Azusa Street revival “cannot be overestimated.”¹⁰ The Azusa Street mission racial attitudes were summed up in his often quoted personal observation: “The ‘color line’ was washed away in the blood.” “All classes began to flock to the meetings,” according to Bartleman’s account for “God was working mightily.” And, he added, “There were far more White people than colored people coming.”¹¹

The interracial and international essence of the revival was a critical component, as well, which was linked to the ‘all points of the compass’ missionary expansion, an unmistakable hallmark of Azusa Street, another feature which clearly distinguished Seymour’s revival from that of Parham’s. Jacobson has suggested that Azusa Street played the role of “Grand Central Station” for Pentecostalism.¹²

The most singularly significant impact upon the Jesus’ Name movement, and certainly upon Haywood, was the *aftermath* of the eight year interracial Azusa experiment, especially its resulting failure and division of Pentecostalism along racial lines. By comparison, according to Wacker’s calculations, William Seymour, in a total of 17,000 published words of communication, “mentioned race only once.”¹³ Parham’s

irresistible drawing to Los Angeles,” Frank Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles: As It Was in the Beginning* (Los Angeles: By the author, 1925), 54.

¹⁰ Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *Witness to Pentecost: The Life of Frank Bartleman* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), xxiii.

¹¹ Bartleman, *Los Angeles*, 49, 54, 58-59; cf., also, “Whites and Black Mix in a Religious Frenzy,” *Los Angeles Daily Times*, September 3, 1906, 11.

¹² Within four years, in fact, missionaries associated with the Azusa Street revival are reported to have been in over fifty nations. Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 10; Allan Anderson, *Introduction*, 171, and “To All Points of the Compass: The Azusa Street Revival and Global Pentecostalism,” *Enrichment* 11:2 (Spring 2006): 164-172, and *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007), 46-65, 109-11, 149-151; Robeck, *Azusa*, Chapter 6, “Evangelizing the World: Azusa Street’s Missionary Program,” 235-280; Clemmons, *Mason*, 31.

¹³ And three distinct historical events in the movement most highlight this division, leading eventually to almost complete racial disunity: (1) Parham’s initial

views on race turned out to be an Anglo-Israel teaching which was inherently racist, arguing for Anglo-Saxon superiority.¹⁴

Howard Goss, who was an ardent early Parham supporter, makes scarce mention of the Azusa Street revival in his account of early Pentecostalism in *The Winds of God*. Goss does, however, mention that Lucy Farrow “preached and told about the great outpouring at Azusa Street” at Parham’s in Houston. “Although a Negro,” he writes, “she was received as a messenger of the Lord to us, even in the deep South of Texas.” To some extent, though, Goss accepted his mentor’s interpretation of Azusa, except, perhaps, for the racial referent, and later parroted Parham’s conclusion: “But, as is often the case, *they felt that they had received a greater power in Los Angeles* than had been known before, so Brother Parham’s saving advice and council went unheeded and was rejected.”¹⁵

Therefore, based essentially on Goss’ eye witness account, as well as that of Ewart in *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, which “recognized Parham’s role long before other denominational treatments,” Goff suggests that “Oneness Pentecostals have been much more sympathetic to Parham” than other earlier historical accounts.¹⁶ Although the time span between this permanent rift between Seymour and Parham, and the unfolding

rejection of Seymour in 1906, the (2) attempted takeover of the Azusa Street mission by William Durham in 1911, and, finally, the (3) withdrawal of Whites from Mason’s COGIC, resulting from the skirmish over Durham’s finished work teaching, to form the Assemblies of God in 1913 and 1914. See, Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostalism and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 234

¹⁴ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 47; Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995), 61. He blatantly condemned Seymour during an October 1906 visit to Azusa, finding “conditions even worse than I had anticipated,” rejecting the revival as mere emotional excess and an unseemly mixing of the races. “After preaching two or three times,” Parham admitted, “I was informed by two of the elders.... that I was not wanted in that place,” see, also, Sarah Parham, *Parham*, 163.

¹⁵ Goss, *Winds of God*, 74, 98, italics added.

¹⁶ Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 232, n. 25

events of Parham's fall, was short, most of Parham's workers who later embraced the Oneness movement in the Parham-dominated south and southwest, such as Goss, Lyons, Hall, and Opperman, were impacted to one degree or another by the earlier strong opposition to Seymour.¹⁷

Soon, though, Parham's reputation was irreversibly tarnished as the rumors of the unfolding moral issues, even as early as late 1906, began to worry the faithful. These allegations of moral misconduct, as Wacker points out, effectively destroyed his career.¹⁸ Yet the disintegration, or "unraveling," of the interracial component of the movement was already well in motion, a reality to which much of the later Oneness movement was, at least in part, a reaction. As Howell's research has noted, "The rise of Oneness, or Apostolic, Pentecostalism must also be seen as a *reaction against racism* in the early movement."¹⁹ They saw inherent prospects for participation in a fresh opportunity to finally fulfill what was seen as the true spirit of Pentecost and succeeding in a vital and restorative interracial vision of the church.

¹⁷ Ministers in other major regions, such as Cook and Ewart in the west, and Haywood and Urshan in the Midwest and north, were less influenced by Parham or impacted by these events. And even many Oneness ministers from the south would find themselves in support of interracial efforts although in counter-distinction to the regional resistance to such an impulse.

¹⁸ By mid-summer 1907 he was arrested on charges of sodomy, though the charges were later dropped, see, Grant Wacker, "The Travail of a Broken Family: Radical Evangelical Responses to Early Pentecostalism," Society for Pentecostal Studies, Lakeland, FL, November 7-9, 1991, 31; "The allegations of homosexual behavior that effectively destroyed the career of founder Charles F. Parham received extended treatment in the *Burning Bush*." And, not unexpectedly, "The *Burning Bush* gleefully noted that the 'devilish tongues craze' paraded hand in hand with the 'sin of Sodomy.'" Neither the reputation, nor leadership, of Parham could survive such a severe fall from grace, although he did continue a much more limited ministry, which he based out of Baxter Springs, Kansas. See, also, Goss, *Winds of God*, 100-101, 145, and 105-106; Goff, "Problem of History," 190, citing the *San Antonio Light*, 19 July, 1907, 1, the *San Antonio Daily Express*, 20 July, 1907, 12, and the *Houston Chronicle*, 21 July, 1907, 14; see, also, Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 136-141.

¹⁹ Robert R. Owens, *The Azusa Street Revival: Its Roots and Its Message* (Xulon Press, 2005; originally, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), 76; cf., Howell, "People of the Name," 25. Italics added for emphasis.

Seymour's efforts as an African-American to hold an interracial movement together, in MacRobert's words, "were left in tatters" by the ensuing divisions.²⁰ But, in the end, Oneness Pentecostals faced precisely the same race issues that had plagued Seymour. Many White Pentecostals, as Nelson notes, reasoned that racial separation was necessary to an "effective proclamation and expansion of the gospel," a mere excuse which was actually the "very essence of sin, a form of self-deception." "The simple truth of Seymour's theology," he concludes, "means that separated Christianity is not Christian at all but rather its denial."²¹

As the movement turned away from Seymour it began to separate along racial lines sometimes camouflaged by administrative or doctrinal disagreements.... The wonder is not that Seymour could not permanently maintain leadership of such a counter cultural movement, but that such a surprising historical breakthrough could happen at all and continue under him for so long.²²

3.2 Influences and Precursors to Oneness Theological Ideology

Two of the major historical treatments of Oneness Pentecostalism, both Reed's and Howell's, hold to what might be thought of as a waning revival theory as the fundamental explanation of the rise of Finished Work theology and, especially, of Oneness theology. Howell assumes Oneness adherents were acting out of restorationist fervor to "recapture the vitality of the Azusa revival" and to reverse negative trends in Pentecostalism which had led to "extinguished" fires of the Azusa Street revival by 1910. The Jesus' Name movement, for Howell, therefore, is a "counter-reformation of the Azusa revival" itself.²³ More precisely, though, the movement was the continuation of an Azusa Street ideal which had so shaped Oneness thought in every significant aspect of

²⁰ MacRobert, *Black Roots*, 64.

²¹ Nelson, *Seymour*, 300; cf., also, Clemmons, *Mason*, 42; In Clemmons' estimation Nelson's contribution, "a White Methodist scholar, has been an exception in his recognition of the spiritual legacy of pentecostalism."

²² Douglas J. Nelson, "The Black Face of Church Renewal," in *Faces of Renewal*, Paul Ebert, ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), 180-184.

²³ Howell, "People of the Name," 14, 16, 25, 27; cf., Reed, *In Jesus' Name*, 82-83.

its development. Its major and most direct influence was upon the leaders who had been associated with both.

3.2.1 Name Theology in Early Pentecostalism

It is also true that much of the early mindset which permeated the Pacific Apostolic Faith movement was anticipatory of the Oneness issue. The self-identifying name, “Apostolic Faith,” became a designation for Oneness adherents and organizing bodies more than any other segment of the movement, a marker which remains true to the present. Even the restoration impulse linked to baptism is reflected in the Apostolic Faith movement, including Seymour, as demonstrated in the ministry of Joshua W. Sykes who, early in 1907, established a separate, but related mission in East Los Angeles, the Apostolic Church.

By mid-1908, Sykes teamed with H. A. Garrison and Mary Taylor, an African-American, to open a work on West Tenth Street. Like Parham before him, Sykes baptized in Jesus’ name, a practice for which he was remembered in 1913, when the Oneness debate began in earnest in Los Angeles. Sykes, though, is not known to have either participated in or influenced the Oneness movement.²⁴

Joshua W. Sykes, apparently, is the “Dr. Sykes” referenced amidst McAllister’s Jesus’ Name baptism sermon at Arroyo Seco in 1913:

There was an inaudible shudder that swept the preachers on the platform and the people in the vast arena. The preacher noticed it, and stood in awesome silence. Brother Denny, a missionary from China ... told him not to preach that doctrine, or it would associate the camp with a Dr. Sykes, who so baptized.²⁵

Parham’s use of an altered Jesus’ Name baptismal formula as early as 1900, “in Jesus’ Name, into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost,” was also a precursor to

²⁴ Robeck, *Azusa*, 189, 282-283. .

²⁵ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 76-77; cf. Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 138-139, which also cites, “The Outpouring of the Spirit in Los Angeles,” *Pentecostal Testimony*, 2/3 (1912), 15.

the thought of early Oneness Pentecostalism. Later Parham explained that “unscriptural” teachings were being “wiped from my mind.”²⁶ Howard Goss, referred to by Anderson as Parham’s “chief disciple,” later a prime mover in creating the AG, then a key leader in the Oneness movement, was baptized by Parham in Jesus’ Name in 1903 in the highly successful Galena, Kansas revival. He was baptized again in Jesus’ Name in 1915.²⁷

In *Think It Not Strange*, Foster’s account of the events gives the following details: “E. N. Bell was called upon to do the baptizing. Howard A. Goss... could no longer stand against truth. Although he had been baptized in Jesus’ name by Parham twelve years before this time, he had not realized the significance, but would now accept it fully for himself. He was one of the first baptized by Bell in this camp, and many lay members.”²⁸

Anderson, though, suggests that Parham used the formula only “occasionally,” in spite of the fact that his implementation of the teaching was said to be by divine revelation.²⁹ Of course, Parham later repudiated the Oneness position, as he moved away from his earlier emphasis on restoration. Some Oneness writers have assumed, nevertheless, that Parham baptized consistently in the formula prior to 1914, and that Seymour also, at least at times, followed Parham’s example at the Azusa Street mission.

Later, amidst the controversy of Jesus’ Name baptism in 1915, Seymour certainly endorsed only Trinitarian baptism. At least two separate accounts from Azusa Street affirm that Seymour himself baptized in Jesus’ Name at the mission in the earliest years. These are Luis Lopez, a Hispanic convert, later with the Apostolic Assembly of the Faith

²⁶ Charles F. Parham, *A Voice Crying in the Wilderness*, 1902, in “Baptism,” *Apostolic Faith*, October 1912, 5; Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 47, 64, n. 21, 23; Sarah Parham, *Parham*, 27.

²⁷ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 178.

²⁸ Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 71; E. N. Bell, “The Sad New Issue,” *Word and Witness*, 12 (June 1915), 3; Foster *Think It Not Strange*, 56.

²⁹ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 140.

in Christ Jesus, baptized by Seymour in Jesus' Name in 1909,³⁰ and William and Maggie Bowdan, similarly, before 1909.³¹

David Lee Floyd, like Goss, a Parham convert who emerged as an AG charter member, worked with Opperman after transferring to him the editorship of his own influential periodical *The Blessed Truth*. Floyd had joined the Oneness cause early on, serving originally as Secretary of the Oneness GAAA. In his recorded interviews, Floyd notes that even J. Roswell Flower discussed with him that he had used the Jesus' name formula himself for some years, but, then, abandoned it when the controversy arose over its use by the Oneness faction within the Assemblies of God.³²

Additionally, a few Oneness historians have downplayed any supposed significance of the Azusa Street revival, or any other religious events, in the understanding of twentieth century Pentecostalism, thereby rejecting any implied restorationist import. Such writers prefer to assume pre-Azusa Street revival outpourings as normative and indicative of an ongoing Apostolic church from the time of the Apostles to the present, emphasizing the centrality of the Jesus' Name revelation *prior* to Azusa and throughout church history.³³

³⁰ *Doctrines and Disciplines of the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: 1915); Anderson, *Disinherited*, 176; see, for example, Larry Booker, "Azusa Street: The Jesus' Name Factor," *Pentecostal Herald*, August 2006, 24-25, and "Jesus' Name Baptism and the Azusa Revival," *Pentecostal Herald*, December 2006, 30-33. L. Lopez, see, *Historia la Asamblea Apostolica de la Fe Cristo Jesus (1916-1966)* (Rancho Cucamonga, CA: Secretaria de Education Cristina, 1966), 6; cf. G. Espinosa, "Apostolic Assembly of the Faith in Jesus Christ," *NIDPCM*, 321; cf. Arlene M Sanchez Walsh, *Latino Pentecostal Identity: Evangelical Faith, Self and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 19, n. 65.

³¹ Deborah Sims LeBlanc, *Like A Rose: Life, Times and Messages of the Late Bishop Frank R. Bowdan, D.D. (1910-1976)* (Los Angeles: n.d.), 5, and the "Apostolic Encyclopedia," <http://grou.ps/jcami/wiki/11538> (accessed November 6, 2009).

³² Clanton, *United We Stand*, 23-24; Floyd, "Interview," 54-55; Booker, *Pentecostal Herald*, December 2006, 32-33.

³³ See, for example, Marvin M. Arnold, *Pentecost Before Azusa* (Cincinnati, OH: Bethesda Ministries, 2002), 42-83, viii, xi, xiii, xviii-xix, 113-115, 125.

3.2.2 Key Oneness Leadership Impacted by Azusa Street

Nevertheless, the impact of Azusa upon the movement cannot be ignored.

Canadian minister, Robert E. McAlister, for example, whose sermon on baptism sparked the Oneness controversy at the Arroyo Seco camp meeting in 1913, one of the movement's most prominent early advocates, received Spirit baptism at Azusa December 11, 1906.³⁴ Scores of others were also influenced indirectly, but significantly, via the preaching of enthusiasts who carried the message of their Azusa experiences far and near, spreading and diversifying its impact. The Wisconsin-Minnesota Oneness movement, for example, traces its beginnings to Mrs. Malmberg, and her daughter, Ragna in Superior, Wisconsin who received Spirit baptism July 1907—after receiving tracts from the Azusa Mission. They embraced Jesus' name baptism after a camp meeting in St. Paul at which Haywood was the speaker in 1915.³⁵

The most significant, though, was Haywood himself, in 1908, with the outbreak of the parallel 'Indianapolis Azusa' which began in early 1907. This 'Midwest Azusa,' aided by a visit from Seymour, was spearheaded by Glenn A. Cook, who later became one of the most successful itinerant Oneness evangelists, working closely with Ewart. It was Henry Prentiss, an African-American, who came from Azusa to pastor the Indianapolis African American mission.

Cook, though, like McAlister, received Spirit baptism at Azusa in 1906 and then served in Los Angeles on the Azusa Street mission Board of Elders and as the mission's secretary. Cook likely played a key role in bringing the Azusa Street revival Pentecostalism to other key leaders, as well, such as L. V. Roberts in Indianapolis, his

³⁴ Thomas William Miller, *Canadian Pentecostalism: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994), 25, 62, 65-66, 111, 117.

³⁵ Vernon R. A. Johnson, "The First Jesus' Name Pentecostal Church in Wisconsin," *Historical News*, Fall 2002, 2; Vernon and Ragna (Malmberg) Johnson were later missionaries to Sweden.

brother-in-law James A. Frush in Newark, Ohio, B. F. Lawrence, Mother Lenore Barnes, and Mother Mary Gill Moise, all from St. Louis.³⁶

Like Haywood, though, other important leaders of the period also experienced this type of strong, but indirect, Azusa Street revival influence, including Andrew D. Urshan in Chicago who, like E. N. Bell, received Spirit baptism at William Durham's Chicago mission. According to his later accounts Urshan had actually already begun to baptize in Jesus' Name in 1910.

This truth became so clear to me that I was influenced by God to... publish a little leaflet on the New Birth and also to print Acts 2:38 on the cover of our baptistery tank and began to baptize the new converts into the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, *which is the one name* of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.³⁷

Likewise, Frank J. Ewart received Spirit baptism in Florence Crawford's camp meeting in Portland, Oregon in 1908, meetings sponsored by Azusa Street. The tongues phenomenon experience of Ewart and Haywood, then, were only months apart. Later Ewart would refer to the Azusa Street revival as the "burning bush" and the "blazing shekinah" of the early movement. The Crawford camp meeting, which Ewart fails to specifically mention by name, was held in June-August 1908 in the Mt. Tabor area, evidently just as Crawford split with Seymour.

By 1911 Ewart was assisting Durham in Los Angeles. He took charge of his mission after Durham's untimely death in 1912, bringing him in close proximity to Seymour and the Azusa Street mission.³⁸ Although he recognized the important early

³⁶ See, Bartleman, *Pentecost*, 110; J. L. Hall, "Early Pentecostalism in St. Louis, Missouri," Part 1, *Pentecostal Herald*, October 1994, 10.

³⁷ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 72; Urshan was Spirit filled in 1908; Andrew D. Urshan, *Pentecost As It Was In The Early 1900's* (Portland, OR: Apostolic Book Publishers, 1923, revised edition, April 1987), 77; H. D. Hunter, "Urshan, Andrew (Bar-) David," *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, D. G. Reid, ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 1208.

³⁸ "When I came into this great movement by the baptism of the Holy Spirit... I found a burning bush in the midst of the people. The bush is burning yet, but its radiant

contribution of Parham, Ewart consciously associated Pentecostal origins with the Los Azusa Street revival: “As at the beginning in Los Angeles, God sent his signal stamp on baptism in the Name of Jesus by healing and baptizing believers in the water.”³⁹

After the initial revival erupted in Toronto in late 1906, Franklin Small, organizer of the Oneness movement in Canada from 1913, received Spirit baptism in 1907 in Winnipeg in A. H. Argue’s meetings who had spoken in tongues at Durham’s Chicago mission. In eastern Canada, Lottie McLean brought the Pentecostal message from Azusa Street in 1911, with Hubert S. Perkins and Leslie Estabrooks being the first to receive Spirit baptism in New Brunswick, and all later participants in the Oneness revival in that province.⁴⁰

William Booth-Clibborn, one of the earliest of the Oneness advocates, received Spirit baptism in London in 1908 at age fifteen, after the “European Azusa” ignited in the wake of the revival initiated by T. B. Barratt in Norway and A. A. Boddy in England after their contact with the Azusa Street revival. William, the son of Arthur S. Booth-Clibborn and grandson of the founder of the Salvation Army, William Booth, attended Harry and Margaret Cantel’s mission in Plumstead, London which had been initiated into the revival via Boddy’s Sunderland meetings.⁴¹

glory has noticeably diminished. It is only a faint spark compared to the blazing shekinah of Azusa Street Mission,” Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 9, 6, 20, 49. see, <http://www.azusabooks.com/what.shtml#3> (accessed October 2, 2006); cf. Bartleman preaching in Portland, Oregon in March 1908, Bartleman, *Pentecost*, 113.

³⁹ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 102.

⁴⁰ G. W. Gohr, “Franklin Small,” in *NIDPCM*, 1075; Robert A. Larden, *Our Apostolic Heritage* (Canada: Apostolic Church of Pentecost of Canada, 1971), 27-28; Joyce Macbeth Morehouse, *Pioneers of Pentecost* (Doaktown, NB: by the author, n.d.), 198-199, 302.

⁴¹ William Booth-Clibborn, “The Baptism in the Holy Spirit,” Part 1, in *AG Heritage*, vol. 10, no. 4, Winter 1990-1991, 6-7, 22-24; Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 107; see, also, D. D. Bundy, “Barratt, Thomas Ball,” 366, and “Boddy, Alexander Alfred,” 436-437, in the *NIDPCM*.

For many others the Azusa Street influence was much more direct, with several ministers, later to assume significant positions of leadership within the Oneness movement, finding their Pentecost in the actual Los Angeles mission. Several of these were African-American, including Edward S. and Mattie Lee, who sparked the explosion of the Azusa Street revival, being the very first to receive Spirit baptism, even before Seymour moved to the Azusa location. Lee, born December 1859 in Maryland, was eleven years Seymour's senior, and performed the wedding ceremony of Seymour and Jennie Moore in May 1908. The Lees later joined the PAW.⁴² And William and Maggie Bowdan, parents of PAW leader Frank R. Bowdan, were also early Azusa Street participants.⁴³ So also was Los Angeles pastor and early PAW leader Elmer G. Lowe.⁴⁴

Frank W. Williams received Spirit baptism at Bonnie Brae in 1906. He returned to Mobile, Alabama and established several strong African-American works. Although he embraced the Oneness position in 1915, he rejected Finished Work theology, in spite of Haywood's influence. Williams retained, instead, a Wesleyan view of sanctification, which prompted him to found his own Oneness organization, the Apostolic Faith Mission Church of God, separate from those African-Americans joining with Haywood. Williams, in turn, converted W. T. Phillips in 1917, also in Alabama, founder of the Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God, which also organized as a separate African-American Oneness group. Williams and Seymour had been close, but his Oneness

⁴² *PAW Minute Book and Ministerial Record 1930-1931*, 19; Lee was twenty four years older than Mattie, whom he married in 1904; *1900 US Census*, Fresno, California, 5; *1920 US Census*, Los Angeles, 3B; Robeck, *Azusa*, 307.

⁴³ LeBlanc, *Like A Rose*, 1-3; William Sylvester Bowdan married Maggie America Pryor, September 12, 1899, Austin, Texas, but moved to Los Angeles in 1900, <http://trees.ancestry.com> (accessed January 8, 2010); Martin, *Seymour*, 205.

⁴⁴ E. G. and A. B. Lowe, *1917 & 1919 PAW Minute Book*; Ross P. Paddock, *Apostolic Roots: A Godly Heritage* (Piqua, OH: Ohio Ministries, 1985; reprint, 1992), 91.

defection, like that of Haywood, was yet another strain on the unity of the faith of Azusa Street.⁴⁵

Evidently, with Haywood's Finished Work views prevailing, more and more, in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, African American leaders like Williams and Phillips, could find little to attract them. The outcome of the AG turmoil was of little consequence, for even if the Oneness position had prevailed, it was overrun with non-Wesleyan theology. Thomas J. Cox, head of the Church of God (Apostolic), founded in 1897, found himself in a similar circumstance when he was converted by Lawson to the Oneness position sometime before 1919.

Frank Bartleman (1871-1936), the foremost "chronicler of Pentecostal origins in Los Angeles," due to his Azusa Street history, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles*, and with 550 articles, 100 tracts, and 6 books to his credit, was, perhaps the most well-known figures of the revival who was later to become Oneness. Cerillo refers to Bartleman as "arguably ranked as one of the most significant early American Pentecostal leaders." Bartleman's small tract, "The Earthquake," concerning the April 18, 1906 devastating San Francisco quake, drew considerable attention because the catastrophe occurred the very day that the *Los Angeles Daily Times* published its first article attacking the Azusa Street meetings.⁴⁶ In 1908 he established his own 'nameless' mission at Eighth and

⁴⁵ Sanders, *Seymour*, 13; Martin, *Seymour*, 326.

⁴⁶ Cerillo appears somewhat doubtful of Bartleman's Oneness position, stating that it was an "*apparent acceptance during the war years of the divisive new Oneness, or Pentecostal Unitarian doctrine of the Godhead,*" (italics added) Augustus Cerillo, Jr., "Frank Bartleman: Pentecostal 'Lone Ranger' and Social Critic," in *Portrait of a Generation: Early Pentecostal Leaders*, James R. Goff, Jr., and Grant Wacker, eds. (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 107, 113-114; C. M. Robeck, "Frank Bartleman," in *The NIDPCM*, 366; D. G. Reid, "Frank Bartleman," in *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, D. G. Reid, ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 119. Bartleman, *Los Angeles*, 43-44; Bartleman's steps previous to Azusa are traced in his earlier book *From Plow to Pulpit: From Maine to California* (Los Angeles: by the author, 1924); see, also, Frank Bartleman, "Why I Was Re-Baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ," *Meat in Due Season*, December 1915, 1.

Maple, which he turned over to William Pendleton, a charter member and first Chairman of the pre-Oneness PAW, and later Oneness PAW minister.⁴⁷

Harry Morse, prominent Oneness leader in the west, established significant works located in Stockton and Oakland and an important Bible college and mission school. Morse, who was leading the San Pedro Peniel Mission south of Azusa Street, was informed by Bartleman of the revival, which prompted his first visit in 1906. Though he sought hard, it was six months before Morse received Spirit baptism.⁴⁸ Morse was one of the earliest of the Oneness participants, working early on with Ewart and Cook to spread the Oneness message throughout California.

George B. Studd, brother of British missionary to China and Africa C. T. Studd, left the Peniel Mission in 1907 to attend Azusa, which he did for more than a year, until joining Elmer Fisher's Upper Room Mission to co-edit *The Upper Room* paper.⁴⁹ He became Ewart's assistant and worked closely with Oneness missions, coordinating and funding Oneness missionaries all over the world.

Several others also had significant links to Azusa Street, rather than to Parham, including John Schaepe, who received Spirit baptism at Azusa, February 23, 1907. Six years later, at the Arroyo Seco camp meeting, near Azusa Street, which sparked the onset of the Oneness movement, it was Schaepe who was the first to receive what he called the

⁴⁷ C. M. Robeck, "Frank Bartleman," *Dictionary of Pentecostal & Charismatic Movements*, Stanley Burgess and Gary McGee, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 304-305; Robeck, *Azusa*, 76-79. The mission at Eighth & Maple was later led by Ewart, see, Frank Bartleman, *The Deity of Christ* (Los Angeles: by the author, 1926); Robeck, *Witness to Pentecost*, x; Bartleman, *Pentecost*, 92, in which Bartleman notes that "we never gave it a name."

⁴⁸ Jewel Yadon Dillon, "Harry Morse," *Profiles of Pentecostal Preachers*, vol. 2, Mary H. Wallace, ed. (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1984), 284; Olive Haney, *The Man of the Hills—Served in the Valley: The Biography of Clyde J. Haney* (Stockton, CA: by the author, 1985), 32; Bartleman, *Pentecost*, 93.

⁴⁹ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 56, 80, 106; Robeck, *Azusa*, 299; George Studd was 52 before he married Mabel in 1911 (Oct 20, 1859 - Feb 13, 1945), *1930 U.S. Census*, Los Angeles, 8A; L. F. Wilson, "George B. Studd," in *The NIDPCM*, 1108; see, also, a reprint article by Studd, "The One Baptism," *Meat in Due Season*, March 1917, 1.

“revelation” of Jesus’ Name baptism. Many, including Harry Morse, heard him shouting the news throughout the camp in the early morning hours, resulting in several camp participants being impacted by, or persuaded of, the new doctrine, including Ewart himself.⁵⁰

There were many others, as well, including several ministers associated with the early Oneness ministry of Frank Ewart in California, such as Elmer K. Fisher in Los Angeles, Robert G. Hammond, and Frederick E. Poole and Sarah E. Poole. The Pooles later established churches in Visalia and Chico. May Heath was also an Azusa revival participant, a missionary to Japan who later married Frank Gray in 1910 and returned to Japan in 1914.⁵¹

Evangelist C. P. Nelson, who was a young Swedish seaman in search of a church in 1906 and who stumbled upon the Azusa Street mission, later based his ministry in St. Paul, Minnesota.⁵² Others include George Carlisle in Indianapolis.⁵³ Another was H. G.

⁵⁰ Schaepe’s ministry was mostly connected with that of Ewart in Los Angeles, although he did work with an Arizona mission in Maricopa County. See, C. M. Robeck, Jr., “Schaepe, John G.,” *NIDPCM*, 1042; *1930 U.S. Census*, Christy, Arizona, 8B; Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven*, 191; Clanton, *United We Stand*, 16; Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 140. Schaepe’s article, “The One Name,” appearing in *The Present Truth*, L. V. Roberts, ed., 1916, vol. 1, 6, likely appeared earlier in *Meat In Due Season*. *The Present Truth* reprinted premium articles, with no reports or testimonies.

⁵¹ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 54; Tracy O. Hammond Interview, Freemont, Indiana, November 2006; The Pooles married in 1911, *1910 U.S. Census*, Los Angeles, 3B; *1920 U.S. Census*, Visalia, CA, 1A, *1930 U.S. Census*, Chico, CA, 7B; Haney, *Clyde J. Haney*, 87-90, 160; Kenneth Haney, “Azusa Street Revival,” *Pentecostal Herald*, April 2006, 7-8.

⁵² Jacob P. Nelson, “Charles Peter Nelson,” *Profiles*, vol. 2, 295-304; Julia Reinking, “Charles Nelson: His Azusa Street Legacy Lives On,” *Pentecostal Herald*, April 2006, 18-20.

⁵³ Paddock, *Apostolic Roots*, 91; Carlisle, a White ‘evangelist,’ ordained by L. V. Roberts, used “hand-drawn charts” on prophecy; see, Nina Neal, *Keepers of the Flame: A History of the Oneness Pentecostals of New Castle, Indiana* (Newcastle, IN: Bryant Printing, 1998), 13; “The World’s Saturday Night,” *Historical News*, January-March, 2000, vol. 19, no. 2, 4, 3.

Rodgers, a prominent Tennessee pastor who organized the July 1915 camp meeting in which E. N. Bell, the first AG Chairman, was rebaptized in Jesus' Name.⁵⁴

3.3 The Los Angeles-based Pentecostal Assemblies of the World

The Azusa Street mission established the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World apparently in 1906 in its efforts to organize for evangelism and keep pace with the expansive nature of the work in Los Angeles and abroad.⁵⁵ Such formalized ministerial structure was merely utilitarian, the detail of which was quietly kept. The earliest records of what must be understood as the pre-Oneness PAW evidence the political and business structure, although in scant detail.

Although the earliest records had been assumed to be the rather late *1918 Minute Book*, the recent uncovering of several U.S. FBI files, previously unknown, reveals that much older records existed. They preserve intact a copy of the oldest *extant* records of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, possibly even its first published records, the *1917 PAW Minute Book*.⁵⁶

More likely, they contain what may be the first inclusion of a "Brief Record of Minutes 1907-1917," included in later editions, confirming the activity of the PAW from at least 1907. The minutes are very brief, containing only scant information from five PAW business meetings over more than a decade. They may be merely later 'summary'

⁵⁴ Mary Jackson, ed., *Tennessee District Heritage* (Jackson, TN: Tennessee District UPCI, 2000), 16-20; Mary Brickey Rodgers, "Henry Green Rodgers," *Historical News*, July-September, 2000, vol. 19, no. 4, 3; Rodgers was Spirit baptized May 8, 1906; cf., Lawrence, *Restored*, 94.

⁵⁵ See Chapter Four, PAW origins and history of the Oneness transition.

⁵⁶ FBI Report #55234, Publ. M1085, "Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922," 28ff, *Minute Book and Ministerial Record of Pentecostal Assemblies of the World*, Portland, Oregon, U.S.A., Year 1917-1918 (19pp). The minute book's "page 18" is missing from the FBI records. Also, appreciation for the FBI file retrieval is extended to records research expert R. S. Vaughn, rsvaughn@tva.gov.

minutes prepared to prove the PAW's longevity, compiled for a 1917 government investigation of its anti-war pacifism.⁵⁷

The "Brief Record" offers insight into the earliest activities of the PAW, basically only a considerably loose-knit ministerial organization. Any attempt at this early date to corral Azusa Street-related ministers into a tightly knit organization would have, indeed, been resisted and highly criticized. But the Azusa Street mission, by forming the PAW as a very loosely organized evangelistic cooperative, rather than a suspicious, chartered denomination, was able to set in order, instead, a ministerial cooperative "in the Azusa Mission" itself.

Accordingly, it operated for the "different Pentecostal Assemblies" working in conjunction with Los Angeles, yet 'under the radar,' with little or no fanfare. With "willing and unanimous consent," the PAW ministers, at the "first ministerial meeting," chose "the BIBLE as their Charter, Constitution and By-Laws."⁵⁸ Whether or not Seymour's name ever appeared on its rosters is not known, but he is not listed as an early participant or a PAW official, though oral tradition has consistently associated Seymour with its original, early activities.

3.3.1 The 1906 Founding of the PAW

The most important question, initially, has to do with the year of origin of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, with suggestions ranging from 1906 to 1914. The early date of the "Brief Record" applies definitively to the issue regarding later origins, but, in addition, the traditional year of origin, 1906, is defended by the earliest of the PAW historians, Morris Golder, who quotes Haywood himself as the source: "It was

⁵⁷ On the other hand, they may simply represent the actual casual notes taken of business activity from the beginning of the organization. See, Appendix D: "Pacifism and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World."

⁵⁸ FBI Report #55234, *Minutes*, 33; cf. Robeck, *Azusa*, 96-98. Also, the Azusa "incorporation" and purchase of the building were soundly criticized, Robeck, *Azusa*, 290.

started in 1906 in Los Angeles.”⁵⁹ The founding and first elections of the PAW were not, thus, simultaneous, a reconstruction consistent with PAW oral tradition. Therefore, it is a mistaken assumption to take Haywood’s reference to 1906 as a cursory identification of the PAW with the founding of the Azusa Street mission.

PAW oral histories have been based, at least partially, upon this rare primary source document, properly interpreted, although a number of assumed, but mistaken, dates of origin have been offered. Anderson suggests the time of the Portland, Oregon chartering by Frazee, in “the fall of 1913,” with others taking Bell’s references in 1914 to prove that the organization originated in that year.⁶⁰ Reed suggests that the founding was 1907, but later refers to the PAW as “a fledgling organization formed in Portland, Oregon, in 1913 to promote the Finished Work message on the west coast.” Finally, Tyson leaves open the possibility of a 1907 ‘founding plus election’ theory, which included in its first business meeting the eldest of the board members of Azusa Street, Hiram W. Smith, as well as B. H. Irwin.⁶¹

Nevertheless, although evidence for the 1906 origin is not overwhelming, little actually commends challenging the tradition of an early date. The magnitude of Azusa Street’s unanticipated early impact quickly demanded a cooperative ministerial effort, which, for obvious reasons needed the sanction and watchful eye of Seymour’s

⁵⁹ Golder, *History*, 31, 36, citing *The Voice in the Wilderness*, vol. 2, no. 9; Peagler, *Haywood*, 76; MacRobert, *Black Roots*, 71-72.

⁶⁰ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 177, 278, n. 7 and n. 9; Bell, *Word & Witness*, March 20, 1914, 2-3; cf. Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 73; Reid, *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, 884.

⁶¹ Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 96, 110; Tyson, *Chalices*, 208, and *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 188; cf. Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 196; Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 96; *1917 PAW Minutes*, 8; Irwin was founder of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, Spirit baptized at Azusa, who became a leader of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church, Borlase, *Seymour*, 191; see, also, Paddock, *Apostolic Heritage*, 35; L. Lovett, *D of PCM*, 80; www.economicexpert.com/a/Pentecostal:Assemblies:of:the:World.html, www.dunamai.com/Azusa/azusa_pages/Introduction.htm, and Keith C. Braddy, *PAW History*, www.mcapostolic.org/PAW_History/PAW_History01.doc (each accessed July 10, 2007).

leadership. It may very well be, therefore, that the PAW was ‘set in order’ toward the latter part of 1906, once the itinerant ministry schedules of Azusa leaders, such as Glenn Cook and Florence Crawford, resulted in their long absences from Los Angeles, making additional localized leadership necessary.

The “Brief Minutes” for the 1907 meeting are atypical, at best, for a ‘first session’ organizational meeting, which requires the establishment of a name, mission, purpose, etc. Those items had clearly *already* been determined before the October 27, 1907 date referred to as the “first” meeting. Although the election of officers took place on this date, the establishment of the by-laws governing the election did not. It is likely that the PAW had been operating without elected leadership, and so forth, for some time, but a duly called election was needed to adequately organize. Evidently, early on, the need for a more formal organizational business procedure had become obvious and then implemented.

3.3.2 Early Pre-Oneness Leadership of the PAW

The first “elected chairman, pro tem” of the PAW was “Bro. Pendleton,” although the term “pro tem” is not used consistently in the minutes. For example, Davidson was appointed to a “pro tem” secretarial position in 1917, which appears to have been merely ‘filling in’ for the absent John Mautz, who had been elected secretary in 1912. Mautz remained secretary until 1917.

Pendleton, on the other hand, was not merely ‘filling in,’ but was in fact the first elected Chairman. Pendleton had been the pastor of the Los Angeles Holiness Church, Hawthorne Street, before his Spirit baptism at Azusa Street resulted in his being ousted. He served as Chairman of the PAW less than nine months, until July 1908. Assumptions regarding Seymour’s possible leadership involvement before these elections is mere

speculation, since no evidence is available linking Seymour to any *official* capacity with the early PAW.⁶²

“Bro. Clark” served briefly as secretary with Pendleton, but the minutes indicate that he was “called by the Holy Ghost” as a missionary to India. This is likely the missionaries J. E. and Margaret Clark in Bombay who had evidently “embraced the message” of the Oneness at least by 1916, as indicated by their inclusion in Haywood’s list of missionaries in *The Voice in the Wilderness*. After her husband’s death in 1917 Margaret Clark continued as a missionary with the PAW for some years.⁶³

William Pendleton received Spirit baptism in the summer of 1906, along with most of his congregation, including Ivey Campbell.⁶⁴ He soon became the pastor of Bartleman’s mission, which had been started in August 1906, although he remained close to Seymour. He later worked with Frank Ewart. Already in his late sixties, he became one of the very first to embrace the Oneness position after the Arroyo Seco camp meeting in 1913.⁶⁵

⁶² FBI Report #55234, 34.

⁶³ J. E. Clark, and “Sis. J. E. Clark,” are listed in Haywood’s *Voice in the Wilderness*, “Missionary Report,” October 1916, no. 18, 2, and December 1916, no. 19, 3; Haywood states in the October issue that he is highlighting missionaries who have “accepted the message,” a common, and evidently favorite, feature of all early Oneness periodicals. Cf., also, Margaret Clark, supported in *The Blessed Truth*, December 1, 1919, vol. 4, no. 22, 3; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 94. “Mrs. J. E. Clark” is listed in the *1917 PAW Minute Book* as a one of seven “Foreign” “Field Missionary Superintendents,” though not listed in the ministerial roster, FBI Record #55324, 31. Earl W. Clark, who married Woodworth-Etter’s grand daughter, did not become a Oneness missionary. He served, rather, in Bolivia in 1909, at which time he became a Pentecostal, see, *Pentecost*, J. R. Flower, ed., March 1910, 1; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 199, 202, 288.

⁶⁴ Robeck, *Azusa*, 187, 189, 191-192, 318; Bartleman, *Pentecost*, 67, 82-83, 92; Owens, *Azusa*, 59; Martin, *Seymour*, 257-258.

⁶⁵ William Henry Pendleton was born in Arkansas, August 1846, and, thus, sixty when *Azusa* began, *1900 US Census*, Los Angeles, 22. The fact that the 1917 PAW roster was adequately updated is supported by the fact that Pendleton’s name was removed from the rosters after his death in January 1917 and before the June release of the roster to the FBI. Ewart became Pendleton’s co-pastor, and, after Pendleton’s death in January 1917, assumed the pastorate of the mission. By that time it had relocated to Kohler Street about five blocks south of Azusa Street.

A “Sis. Hopkins” was elected to serve as the “temporary chairman” of the PAW, in the nomenclature designated by the minutes, or, more accurately, chairwoman. Ultimately, though, Hopkins’ role and leadership has proven to be the most obscure of the early period, about which even less is known than that of J. J. Frazee, who served as secretary for the four years of her tenure. Therefore, Hopkins, Frazee, and E. W. Doak, another later PAW chairman, have been priority targets for this segment of the research. Hopkins’ temporary tenure, evidently, was fulfilled as if it were ‘permanent,’ in that she apparently served as head of the PAW for four years, 1908-1912.

Due to her gender, it may have been deemed essential to designate her leadership position as “temporary,” so as to off-set criticism of women in leadership, or, perhaps her later assumption of permanent leadership was simply not an official act of business reflected in the minutes. The designation in 1908 was emphatic, with Hopkins’ position clearly specified as “temporary chairman,” and Frazee specified as “permanent secretary.” Frazee’s expanded role as later chairman is explored in the following chapter, and E. W. Doak’s chairmanship is considered in Chapter Five.

Unfortunately, little else about her, including her first name, is known. It is known that Hopkins, like Emma Cotton, Rachel Sizelove, Crawford, and other women of Azusa Street, was an early, direct revival participant, although her later ministry may have extended well beyond Los Angeles. But, Emma Cotton, who referred to their Azusa Street participation as that of “pioneers,” apparently, remained in touch with women ministers, including Hopkins, throughout their later years of ministry.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ A male minister, J. E. Hopkins, just blocks from Azusa, is the only “Hopkins” listing in the 1917 PAW rosters, which, unlike later PAW minute books, lists all female ministers with an added designation of “Miss’y,” see, *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 12; The only other Hopkins known to be connected to Azusa, was possibly J. R. Hopkins, originally from Arizona, brother-in-law to Elizabeth M. (See) May, from Whittier, CA, *The Apostolic Faith*, Feb-Mar 1907, 8; see, www.ancestry.com, “Arizona Marriage Collection, 1864-1982,” Safford, AZ; Emma Cotton, “Letter to Rachel Sizemore,” 1941,

Also, the timing of her rise to leadership followed closely on the heels of Florence Crawford's severing of ties with Seymour in early 1908. The elevation of a woman to leadership would have served to silence suggestions that sentiment against women preachers might have been involved in the Portland rift. Also, evidence suggests that Seymour's marriage to Jennie Moore, May 13, 1908, contributed to the breach, on the assumption that Clara Lum left Los Angeles for Portland because she opposed their marriage.⁶⁷

Though previously so obscure, several important initial glimpses into the life and role of Frazee are now possible (see Chapter Four), such as information regarding his ordination with the PAW, March 22, 1908. The ordination took place just a few months before the July 1908 leadership replacement of Pendleton and Clark, at which time the newly ordained Frazee himself was made secretary. Serving four years as secretary under Hopkins, Frazee became the chairman in March 1912, serving for six more years as the head of the PAW (1912-1918).⁶⁸

3.4 The Revival in the Context of the Racial Complexity of Indianapolis

The interracial Pentecostalism which swept Indianapolis in 1907-1908 was not only inspired by the Azusa Street phenomenon, but both initiated and led by Azusa Street. Haywood, therefore, was swept into the revival at the height of its fervor and success

<http://www.azusastreet.org/participantHopkinsSister.htm> (accessed October 5, 2006), "...there are only a few of us pioneers left" is mentioned along with having heard from "Sister Hopkins and Sister Craton"; see, Anthea D. Butler, *Women in the Church of God in Christ: Making a Sanctified World* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 62-64; Alexander, *Women of Azusa*, 177. The extant historical data does not link Hopkins to the Oneness movement, other than her leadership in the PAW which pre-dates the issue.

⁶⁷ Clemmons, *Mason*, 49-50; Lum had moved to Portland by May 1908 and taken control of the vital 50,000 subscriber list of Azusa's paper, *The Apostolic Faith*; see, Robeck, *Azusa*, 285, 301-307; Nelson, "Seymour," 240, suggesting that Seymour's influence declined due to the loss of *The Apostolic Faith* paper.

⁶⁸ FBI Report #55234, 7, according to an August 2, 1917 FBI interview with Frazee; cf. Ross, *Apostolic Heritage*, 35.

(1906-1909), as it was transported and emulated in the city of Indianapolis, just as it had been across the country and the world. In many ways Indianapolis represented an exceptional sort of parallel to Seymour's Los Angeles success, especially in the sense that both were bastions of interracial conviction led by two of the most prominent leaders Pentecostalism has produced.

Just as the initial Indianapolis revival became the hub from which several early Pentecostal leaders, such as John G. Lake, Thomas Hezmalhalch, and J. R. Flower, were propelled into key involvement, so it would ultimately develop into a major early success story for Oneness Pentecostalism. Flower played a major role in resisting the Oneness movement within the Assemblies of God. The Indianapolis connection developed into national involvement in the emergence and development of Oneness Pentecostalism, both with respect to key pro and con participants. A glimpse into these formative years (1906-11) highlights the role of Indianapolis as a critical area in the emerging Jesus' Name movement. This is especially true of Haywood's pivotal decision to join the ministerial ranks of the Los Angeles based PAW in 1911 just prior to Frazee era.

With Haywood's leadership and vision, and his whole-hearted entrance into the Jesus' Name camp in 1915, the city of Indianapolis soon became the major epicenter of Oneness Pentecostalism. Indianapolis was, indeed, a center of Pentecostal revival and growth, and the bastion of the Oneness movement's interracial aspirations. At the same time, the 'circle city' was a U.S. bastion of prejudice and racism, thoroughly antagonistic to the dream of racial harmony. Haywood, nonetheless, would spend his life in pursuit of that dream.

The Indianapolis, Indiana context during the close of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century included varied racial complexities which severely impacted the fledgling young Pentecostal movement. For example, the sharp contrast in

the growth of the Black population in Indianapolis, compared to that of such cities as Los Angeles, was rather significant. Rapid growth in Los Angeles by 1906 resulted in a population of 238,000, but, even by 1910, it had only 7,599 Blacks out of a population of 319,000.⁶⁹ In Indianapolis, though, by 1900, the Black population had begun to explode, jumping from 16,000 to nearly 35,000 in 1920. This was an enormous increase from nearly 10% of the Indianapolis population to 43%.

So in 1910 Indianapolis had the highest percentage of black population of any Northern city in America with over 100,000 residents; the black percentage for Boston was 2 percent, for Chicago 2 percent, and for New York 1.0 percent but for Indianapolis 9.3 percent. When Indiana had 80,810 blacks in 1920, 43 percent of them (34,678) lived in Indianapolis.⁷⁰

This “great migration” of African-Americans into Northern cities, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, had an obvious impact upon Indianapolis in terms of the uniquely high percentage of migrants. The “increase of the black population between 1910 and 1920 (50 percent),” as documented by Brady, “was significantly greater than that of the city population as a whole (35 percent).”⁷¹ During this period, with its declining agricultural economy, Baer and Singer have argued that “Blacks became an easy target for White hostility.”⁷²

Accordingly, the availability of jobs in northern industries created by World War I, as well as the economic prosperity of the 1920’s, “propelled massive numbers of Blacks to leave the rural areas of the south.”⁷³ Also, during this period, cultural perceptions and racial prejudice reached such a fever pitch amidst the societal racial adjustments and

⁶⁹ Robeck, *Azusa*, 53; Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 76, 78.

⁷⁰ L. C. Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths: A History of Indiana Churches and Religious Groups* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995), 545.

⁷¹ Carolyn M. Brady, “Indianapolis at the Time of the Great Migration, 1900-1920,” *Black News & Notes*, Indiana Historical Society, August 1996, no. 65, 1, <http://www.carolynbrady.com/indymigration.html> (accessed July 2, 2007).

⁷² Baer and Singer, *African-American Religion*, 38.

⁷³ Brady, “Indianapolis at the Time of the Great Migration, 1900-1920,” 1.

tensions throughout the country that thousands of African-American lives were taken in the act of tragic, barbaric lynching.⁷⁴

The majority of the Indianapolis African-Americans in 1910 were in the Fifth Ward, bounded by the White River, Tenth, West and Washington streets. The Fifth Ward was 48% Black. Anti-interracial sentiment in the city often prevailed, requiring court action, for example, to rule unconstitutional an ordinance, in 1926, which made it illegal to move into a White neighborhood, without the residents' approval.⁷⁵ By the 1920's Indiana was experiencing a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan which quickly made the Klan "the largest social organization in Indianapolis and dominant force...from 1921 to 1928."⁷⁶

The impact upon early racial relations in the city has been enormous. According to Moore, "25% of native-born White men" in Indianapolis' Marion County had become members of the KKK by 1925. Rudolph argues that the Indiana Klan became the largest in the nation. In 1923, for example, it published 50,000 copies of the *Fiery Cross* weekly, signed up 117, 969 new members, and had, as members of the Klan, forty nine Indianapolis pastors.⁷⁷ In 1921, when an African-American dentist moved into a White Indianapolis neighborhood, it required a Superior Court order to remove the twelve foot high fences the neighbors built on either side of his property.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ John Hope Franklin, *An Illustrated History of Black American* (New York: Timelife Books, 1970, 1973), 103-111; cf. Nelson, "Seymour," 254-259.

⁷⁵ Brady, "Great Migration," 4-5; *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows, eds. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 7.

⁷⁶ Rob Schneider, "The Changing Face of Indianapolis: 1920-1929; Ku Klux Klan Dominance Marked an Ugly Era for City," 12-23-1999; http://www2.indystar.com/library/factfiles/history/black_history/ (accessed July 18, 2007); Bodenhamer and Barrows, *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, vii.

⁷⁷ Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 49; Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths*, 547, 549.

⁷⁸ Brady, "Great Migration," 5.

Haywood's own high school, Shortridge, had been integrated from the time that Abram Shortridge, White superintendent of the then "Indianapolis High School," escorted Black 'test student' Mary Ann Rann to class in 1872. Yet, in 1927, Haywood witnessed the progression of increased prejudice in the city, with the first ever segregated Indianapolis high school, the separate, all Black Crispus Attucks High School. Crispus, the Black sailor killed in the Boston Massacre in 1770, had long been a symbol of abolition. Black schools in Indianapolis, during the period of 1927-1942, were barred from the state basketball tournaments, and from any Indiana High School Athletic Association league.⁷⁹

Richard Pierce suggests in his discerning study of the race complexities in the city of Indianapolis, *Polite Politics*, that African Americans there "created a style of race relations" which may be, more or less, unique to Indianapolis. He argues that they maintained, amidst determined segregation by Whites, a gentle diplomacy.⁸⁰ This, indeed, sounds a great deal like Haywood himself, an African American who not only survived, but thrived in the racial matrix of Indianapolis, repeatedly excelling in spite of mounting race challenges.

Haywood's personal aspirations of racial unity were, obviously, not born out of a cultural naiveté. Yet these early societal racial issues in Indiana coincide with the crucial years in the racial unification of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, especially those immediately prior to the 1924 racial schism. Both the societal prejudice and a ministerial apathy were working to nullify the efforts of Haywood, and the many other early

⁷⁹ Gaus, *Shortridge*, 15, 116-118; see, also, Eric R. Jackson, "The Endless Journey: The Black Struggle for Quality Public Schools in Indianapolis, Indiana 1900-1949," Ed.D Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2000.

⁸⁰ Richard B. Pierce, *Polite Politics: The Political Economy of Race in Indianapolis, 1920-1970* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), 3-4.

Apostolics, White and Black, who believed “Pentecost” worthy of a truly interracial vision.

3.5 Indianapolis, Indiana – “The Midwest Azusa”

These Apostolics were, of course, in their interracial idealism, championing the original Azusa Street vision of Pentecost, an idealism into which the young convert to the movement, G. T. Haywood, had been spiritually born, only ten months into the outbreak of revival in Los Angeles. As was true in many parts of the country, and the world, the Azusa Street revival fervor was readily transplanted into the Midwestern, Indianapolis context. And the racial complexities of the Indianapolis revival, which began in early 1907, actually rivaled that of Los Angeles.

The city’s press labored hard and long, and successfully, to segregate the congregations of the earliest Apostolic Faith converts. The negative, sardonic antagonism of the press, including the unique nomenclature, “gliggy bluk” churches, was maintained for many years, at least until as late as 1915.⁸¹ David Bundy, an Indianapolis church expert and historian of Pentecostal history in the city, has noted:

The excitement caused by the development of Pentecostalism was unprecedented in Indianapolis religious history, with scrutiny from the city establishment paralleled only by the experience of the tradition in Los Angeles. It is against this backdrop that one must understand the early ministry of Haywood.⁸²

3.5.1 Glenn A. Cook and the Interracial Indianapolis Revival

The events transpiring in Los Angeles had begun, by the end of 1906, to impact the city of Indianapolis, and like-minded folks, such as George N. Eldridge’s CMA

⁸¹ See, the 1915 article, *The Indianapolis Star*, “Judge Discharges Man Who Laughed in Church,” January 5, 1915, 11: “He attended what he said was a ‘Gliddy Bluk’ service on Roosevelt avenue, near Cooper street.” The overriding root issues in Indianapolis included interracial worship and the collision of an Azusa Street-inspired vision of religion with that of the social taboos to which Whites held so tenaciously.

⁸² David Bundy, “G. T. Haywood: Religion for Urban Realities,” in *Portraits of a Generation: Early Pentecostal Leaders*, James R. Goff, Jr., and Grant Wacker (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 239.

congregation in Indianapolis' northeast downtown area, began seeking Spirit baptism. Eldridge rejected the movement at the time, but later, after becoming a CMA district superintendent in the Los Angeles area, he visited Azusa Street and was Spirit baptized in 1910.⁸³

Glenn A. Cook (1869-1947) had been raised in Brownsburg, Indiana, since infancy, when his parents moved, in 1870, from Ohio, but, by the early 1890's, was married, "wayward," and working in Chicago as a printer, at least as late as 1900. In late 1900 or early 1901, Glenn and Sophie Cook moved back to Indianapolis and converted in the holiness movement, which, before their move to California, brought them into contact with Eldridge and the N. East Street CMA.⁸⁴

Gospel Tabernacle, near downtown, was one mile east of Senate & Eleventh, soon to be the locale of Haywood's church. Cook was staying just off East Street, at 612 Terrace Avenue, near his sister, Eveline Surver, at 726 Terrace Avenue, and his mother. Although Cook's father, Nathan Cook, a Civil War veteran, died in 1899, his mother, and four of his (married) sisters, remained in the Indianapolis area.⁸⁵

Cook, as Robeck points out, joined a holiness group in Los Angeles known as the Metropolitan Church Association, which had formed in 1894, and, by 1902, he was the printer of the MCA's paper, *The Burning Bush*. "At one time," before 1907, in

⁸³ He established Bethel Temple in Los Angeles and, by 1919, was an AG minister and "General Presbyter." See, C. M. Robeck, Jr., "Azusa Street Revival," *NIDPCM*, 347; Martin, *Seymour*, 285; Borlase, *Seymour*, 207-208; *Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God 1919*, 30; *1850 US Census*, Orrington, Penobscot County, Maine, Eldridge was born in Maine in 1847; *1880 US Census*, Calais, Washington County, Maine, 18; *1910 US Census*, Pasadena, CA, 7A.

⁸⁴ Alice Reynolds Flower, "When Pentecost Came to Indianapolis," *AG Heritage*, Winter 1985-1986, 5-7.

⁸⁵ G. A. Cook, "Pentecost in Lamont, Okla.," *The Apostolic Faith*, January 1907, vol. 1, no. 5, 1; *1870 US Census*, Lincoln Township, Hendricks County, Indiana, 30, *1880 US Census*, Brownsburg, Indiana, 11, and *1900 US Census*, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, 3; At the time of her death, Cook's mother, Mary Jane Cook, was living with her daughter Eveline Surver, September 1909, see, "Son Conducts Funeral," *Indianapolis Star*, September 20, 1909, 7.

Indianapolis, according to *The Indianapolis Star*, Cook had been a barber. In fact, he worked as a printer most of his life in the Los Angeles area, operating a print shop from his home, working closely with Ewart's *Meat in Due Season*, for example. Cook published his own paper, *Messiah's Coming Kingdom*, as well, in the late 1920's.⁸⁶

Hearing of the revival while preaching a tent meeting one mile southwest of Azusa Street at W. 7th Street and S. Spring Street, Cook attended to "straighten the people out in their doctrine."

I dropped into the meetings on Azusa Street some time in April, having heard that some people were speaking in tongues, as they did on the day of Pentecost. Although I had been trying to preach Pentecost for five years, the speaking in tongues was as strange to me as though it had never been mentioned in God's word.... As I was indoctrinated in the second blessing being the baptism of the Holy Ghost, I branded the teaching as heretical, not going to the meetings for some time....

[Later in July 1906] "I was laid out under the power five times before Pentecost really came.... I had been seeking about five weeks, and on a Saturday morning I awoke and stretched my arms toward heaven and asked God to fill me with the Holy Ghost. My arms began to tremble, and soon I was shaken violently by a great power.... About thirty hours afterwards, while sitting in the meeting on Azusa Street, I felt my throat and tongue begin to move, without any effort on my part. Soon I began to stutter and then out came a distinct language which I could hardly restrain. I talked and laughed with joy far into the night."⁸⁷

In October 1906, Cook signed his letters to T. B. Barratt in Oslo, Norway, regarding Spirit baptism, as *The Apostolic Faith* managing editor. He could not, though, have continued as editor for long with the travel itinerary he kept in 1907. Even earlier, for example, he had carried the message of the Azusa Street revival in July to Monrovia and to the Los Angeles People's Church in September. Then, when his testimony

⁸⁶ Robeck, *Azusa*, 101, 107, originally Metropolitan Holiness Association; "Seek New Religious Speech," *Indianapolis Morning Star*, February 1, 1907, 6.

⁸⁷ G. A. Cook, "Receiving the Holy Ghost," *The Apostolic Faith*, November 1906, vol. 1, no. 3, 2; "The Azusa Street Mission" (Los Angeles: Belvedere Christian Mission, n.d.), published some years later while pastor at 133 ½ S. Alma St., Belvedere, California.

appeared in *The Apostolic Faith* in November, the thirty-seven year old Cook became an even more sought after evangelist.

Five months after his experience of Spirit baptism, he left Los Angeles, December 4th, for Oklahoma, Missouri, Indiana, and Tennessee. Indianapolis resident Sarah Cripes, too, had written for him to come. Upon his January 18th arrival Cook wrote: “Arrived here Friday morning after spending two days in Chicago. Quite a number are seeking the baptism.”⁸⁸

Cook began preaching at the East St. church, though Eldridge was away, and folks immediately began receiving Spirit baptism, including, on February 7, 1907, Richard and Maude Cordell. But Eldridge, upon his return, soon banned these “tarrying” meetings. They were, in fact, “forced out of several places,” Cook noted. And they met briefly at Senate Avenue and St. Clair Street, then for several weeks at 1111 ½ Shelby Street, just north of E. Morris Street.⁸⁹

The press hype subsided somewhat in February and March. Tom Hezmalhalch arrived with a band of White Azusa workers, Celia Smock, Elnora Hall, and Fred Dexheimer, although he was away for most of May. He then departed Indianapolis for South Africa by April 1908. But Cook had returned to Indianapolis late in April through the first week of May, returning from Oklahoma at the end of the month in preparation for Seymour’s June arrival. Among the early converts of the period was Alice Reynolds

⁸⁸ David Bundy, “Spiritual Advice to a Quaker: Letters to T. B. Barratt from Azusa Street, 1906,” *Pneuma*, Fall 1992, vol. 14, no. 2, 163-166; Cook, “Pentecost in Lamont, Okla.,” 1; Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., “Azusa Street Revival Timeline,” *Enrichment*, Spring 2006, 104, 9.

⁸⁹ Gene Cordell Interview, Calvary Tabernacle, Indianapolis, Indiana, January 10, 2006, son of Richard and Maude Cordell; G. A. Cook, “Pentecostal Power in Indianapolis,” *The Apostolic Faith*, February-March, 1907, vol. 1, no. 6, 3.

(Flower), her parents, the Flower family, Louie Scheiderman and the Jacob Lehman missionary family.⁹⁰

The meetings were then moved to an upper room at Fountain Square, where they continued until the end of March. Describing his last service before his temporary return to Azusa Street in mid-March, Cook reported: "...many received the baptism.... The meeting seemed to have wings, and the whole room had to be used for the altar service." His anticipatory remarks in the March issue of *The Apostolic Faith* portended accurately the scope of the events: "This will be a center of power, being an inter-urban railway center like Los Angeles."⁹¹ Tom Hezmalhalch arrived from Azusa Street to assist in the work in Cook's absence.

3.5.2 Indianapolis Pentecostalism Dubbed the Gliggy Bluk Revival

The crowds, by April, necessitated the move to Murphy Hall, a mile and a quarter North, at E. New York and N. Alabama Streets, just four blocks from the Black mission which would soon open on W. Michigan Street. April, May, and June erupted into a Midwest revival in many respects rivaling that of Azusa Street, due in part to the free publicity, the daily, incendiary press coverage of the *Indianapolis Star* and *Indianapolis News*, which employed overt racism in protesting the interracial services which the Indianapolis Pentecostals were enjoying.

This is stirring up the ministers and people, and the newspapers are lying and trying to put the people against us, but God is overruling.... Yesterday afternoon God took a young colored brother and a young sister, and in a most marvelous manner the Holy Ghost spoke through them in tongues, giving the interpretation, and with such power and force that the

⁹⁰ Lehman became one of the first Pentecostal missionaries to South Africa. "Seek New Religious Speech," *Indianapolis Morning Star*, February 1, 1907, 5; Bundy, "Haywood," 239; see, also, Celia Smock, "Reminiscences of God's Faithfulness," *The Pentecost*, July 1909, vol. 1, no. 8, 4; see, "Trance Followed Sermon by Cook," *Indianapolis Star*, April 24, 1907, 3, and *Enrichment*, Spring 2006, 105.

⁹¹ G. A. Cook, "Pentecostal Power in Indianapolis," *The Apostolic Faith*, February-March, 1907, vol. 1, no. 6, 3

whole audience was stricken with awe.⁹²

The city's Black papers, though, including the two for which Haywood worked, *The Freeman and the Recorder*, reported on neither the religious phenomenon itself, nor the race issues involved. The twenty-five-year old Haywood, who lived only a short distance west of the ongoing events, could not have avoided the torrent of vitriol on display in the White press. Cook, unplanned, quickly returned, as crowds came from "all over the state" and adjoining states. Alice Flower noted that "out-of-towners could take one of the 26 interurban lines which made getting in and out of the city very easy." J. Roswell Flower soon joined his parents in attendance once meetings moved over to Murphy Hall⁹³

Seymour himself joined the meetings by June 2, 1907 for two weeks, in the face of incessant press coverage. Hezmalhalch's *Apostolic Faith* report in mid-April mentions the interracial services, which were apparently the norm early on, although the public outcry against it came in early May. Also, by mid-April, the press had already dubbed the movement with the demeaning term "Gliggy Bluks," meant as a 'humorous' attempt at mimicking speaking in tongues.

One Indianapolis newspaper report created the following farcical lines: "Oogie google wago mo, Fasto maro Cook de bo, Lalu galu sando fando here's for *luck*; Ingle wingo fer so kink, Sando fago wastel dink, If I only was a *Gliggy Bluk*." The first such article appeared in the *Indianapolis Morning Star*, April 17, 1907, 1, with attempts made

⁹² T. Hezmalhalch, "In Indianapolis, Ind.," *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 7, April 1907, 1. His report is dated April 20, from his residence at 2341 Fletcher Avenue.

⁹³ Seymour refers only to the extended trip to Zion, Illinois, and not to either Indianapolis or the race conflict erupting the city, see, "The 'Latter Rain' in Zion City, Ill.," *The Apostolic Faith*, June-September 1907, vol. 1, no. 9, 1; Flower, "When Pentecost Came," 6.

at making other terms stick, such as the “Glug” meetings. But “Gliggy Bluk” quickly won the day.⁹⁴

May 4, 1907 Ernest Buel Lloyd, twenty-six, African-American, and single, was propelled to prominence in the revival due to his nearly inciting a race riot during the Saturday service. Lloyd, who was to later join Haywood’s church and license with Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, once again made the revival front page news in the *Indianapolis Star*: “Ernest Lloyd... narrowly escaped violence at the hands of a mob when at the altar he seized 12-year-old Naomi Groves by the head and shook her until her screams stirred the large audience in the hall. The police were called and took a hand before quiet was restored.”⁹⁵

The *Star* also suggested that “members of the Apostolic faith believe that he has great power,” and that, in an attempt to beat a demon out of the girl, “seized her with both hands by the hair.” The assistance of six to eight policemen was needed to settle the opposition crowd positioned in the rear of the hall. “Religion is religion, but it is another thing,” the paper stated, “for a burly n----- to grab a little girl and frighten her to death.”⁹⁶

Lloyd, who was born February 12, 1881 in Topeka, Kansas, and also lived in Oklahoma before moving to Indiana with his family, remained in Indianapolis most of his life and ministry. At the time of these events, according to the *1910 U.S. Census* for Indianapolis, Lloyd was about twenty six, but single. A month after the initial June 5th story, the *Indianapolis Star* repeated portions of the account with photos of Cook and Lloyd together as proof of the interracial leadership. The caption read: “‘Bluk’ Apostle and One of the Bluks.”

⁹⁴ Robeck, *Enrichment*, Spring 2006, 9; “Gliggy Bluks Meet,” *Indianapolis Morning Star*, April 17, 1907, 1; see, also, “Stutterer Speaks at ‘Glug’ Service,” April 18, 1907, 15.

⁹⁵ “Negro Bluk Beats Demon From Girl,” *Indianapolis Sunday Star*, May 5, 1907, 1.

⁹⁶ “Negro Bluk,” *Star*, 1

The press coverage for an article entitled “Negro Bluk Beats Demon From Girl,” which ran in the *Indianapolis Sunday Star*, May 5, 1907, seems to indicate that the meetings were, indeed, interracial from the start. It states that Lloyd “has been meeting with the band since it invaded the city.”⁹⁷

Over the next weeks police were in attendance at the services periodically, but, ultimately, for the purpose of protecting the church from the increasingly tense crowds of angry protesters. Cook, for example, in mid-June, was attacked and hit “about the head.” The announcement, the actual June 2nd arrival, and the visit of African-American leader William Seymour served to fan the editorial rancor even more, with the Indianapolis papers more than doubling their coverage of varied details of the revival.⁹⁸ The coverage of Seymour’s first service headlined, “Negro Bluk Kissed,” emphasized Cook’s form of greeting.

By June 19th the Indianapolis Republican Mayor, Charles A. Bookwalter issued statements in defense of the rights of the group to meet under the protection of the law. In addition, the press spotlighted their use of offerings, the threats of husbands to divorce

⁹⁷ 1890 *US Census*, Hennessey, OK, 28; 1895 *Kansas Census*, 8; 1910 *US Census*, Indianapolis, IN, 2A; Lloyd does not appear in the pre-Oneness roster of the 1917 *PAW Minutes*, but only later in the 1919-1920 *PAW Minutes*; “Negro Bluk Beats Demon From Girl,” *Indianapolis Sunday Star*, May 5, 1907, 1; “‘Bluk’ Apostle and One of the Bluks,” and “Negro Bluk ‘Blows’,” *Indianapolis Morning Star*, June 5, 1907, 20.

⁹⁸ “Police Visit Bluks,” *Indianapolis Morning Star*, May 13, 1907, 12; “Police Are Spectators at Bluks’ Meeting,” *Indianapolis News*, June 11, 1907, 4; “Hit Brother Cook,” “Young Mob Assails Bluks’ Temple,” and “Bluks Appeal to Police,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 17, 1907, 3, 7. Also, the neighboring community attempted to have the services closed at Murphy Hall, see, “Desire the Bluks to Go,” *Indianapolis News*, June 17, 1; “Mayor Will Protect ‘Gliggy Bluks’,” *Indianapolis News*, June 19, 1907, 1; “Police Have No Power to Stop Bluks’ Meetings,” *Indianapolis News*, June 20, 1907, 8. Also, June 14th Captain Asch of the Indianapolis Police interviewed Cook as to possible criminal charges, Robeck, *Enrichment*, “Timeline,” 105. Outgoing African-American missionary, William H. Cummings, with his large family, accompanied Seymour, with his elder son, Frank, assisting with the June 15th baptism.

their “Bluk” wives, the baptism of thirteen in Fall Creek, and even the foot washing service which followed.⁹⁹

Within a week of Seymour’s arrival, the crowds were so large that people were being turned away. The paper was especially quick to point out, not only the increase in African-American attendance, but the inappropriate “familiarity with which the colored members of the flock were greeted” by White members.

On June 9th Seymour and Cook decided to segregate the races, more out of safety concerns than the size of the crowds, and held separate services upstairs and down in Murphy Hall. The antagonism of the press over the next weeks regarding the interracial baptism and foot washing may be, in itself, an indication that all other services had remained segregated, and thus, a partial victory for the White press.¹⁰⁰

Certainly by the year’s end, a separate African-American mission was established at W. Michigan Street, just west of N. Blake Street. Azusa minister, Henry Prentiss, evidently at Cook’s invitation, became pastor of the African-American group, probably, in the fall of 1907. Cook appears to have overseen the White congregation, while continuing itinerant evangelistic work, until late 1909 or early 1910.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ “Negro Bluk Kissed,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 3, 1907, 3; “Bluk Divides Home,” *Indianapolis Morning Star*, June 4, 1907, 1; “Oddy Asks Divorce Because of Bluks,” *Indianapolis Morning Star*, June 6, 1907, 3; “Gliggy Bluks Bathed at Fall Creek Waters,” *Indianapolis News*, June 17, 1907, 7; “Bluk Feet, Little and Big, Scrubbed,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 16, 10.

¹⁰⁰ “Bluk Crowd Runs Over,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 10, 1907, 12. See, also, Bundy, “Haywood,” 243, and Martin, *Seymour*, 308.

¹⁰¹ The January 1908 *Apostolic Faith* opens: “Indianapolis, Ind.—Many souls have been baptized in Indianapolis, saved and sanctified,” see, “Indiana Missionary Convention,” *The Apostolic Faith*, January 1908, vol. 1, no. 12, 1, 2; Cook returned to Chicago, his wife’s home, and ran a “printing shop,” by April 1910, *1910 US Census*, Cook County, Chicago, IL, 12B; “Son,” *Star*, September 20, 1909, 7, refers to Cook as “pastor of the church” at “New York and Alabama streets.” The segregated congregations were less than a mile apart. See, also, Martin, *Seymour*, 311; L. V. Roberts, a later key figure in the Jesus’ Name rebaptism campaign of the Oneness movement, but returned to the AG by 1919, assumed leadership of this Apostolic Faith Assembly, then on New Jersey Street, in January 1913. Later named Oak Hill

Twenty year old J. Roswell Flower edited the important paper, *The Pentecost* from 1908 to 1910, resulting in his leaving Indiana for almost two years in April 1909. Although, for many months, *The Pentecost* included a featured U.S. and missions “Apostolic Faith Directory” of all churches, Flower never listed Prentiss, Haywood, their African-American church, which had originally been part of his own church, at such a cost, or *any* African American mission or individual.¹⁰² Even in this earliest era Haywood faced racism via Flower’s segregationist practices, antecedent to that which dominated in the formation of the Assemblies of God and in the battle over the Oneness issue less than a decade later.

Seymour and Cook conducted the June 15th baptism near the Fall Creek Indiana Street bridge, in which Mabel, Cook’s own daughter, Sarah Cripe, Ida May Oddy, Ernest B. Lloyd, Joseph Inland, Naomi Groves, and seventeen year old B. F. Lawrence were among the baptized.¹⁰³ Lawrence later became involved, briefly, in the Jesus’ Name movement, but became most well-known for writing the first history of the Pentecostal movement for the AG in 1916. The baptism took place slightly over a mile East of Haywood’s home, at a time when, no doubt, Blacks across the city were keenly aware of the racial upheaval impacting Indianapolis and the interracial band of “Bluks.”

Tabernacle, Roberts led the entire church into Jesus’ Name baptism in 1915, see, L. V. Roberts, “More Blessed Revival Fires: Fresh Blaze in Indianapolis,” *Word & Witness*, February 20, 1913, 3; cf. Edith Blumhofer, “Thomas F. Zimmerman: The Making of a Minister,” *Assemblies of God Heritage*, Winter, 1990-1991, vol. 10, no. 4, 4.

¹⁰² Flower moved to Kansas City, Missouri, April 1909, to work with A. S. Copley, who later took over as editor of *The Pentecost*. Flower left in November, returning to Indianapolis by February 1910; J. Roswell Flower, “God Honors Faith,” *The Pentecost*, February 1, 1910, vol. 2, no. 3, 1; see, also, Bundy, “Haywood,” *Portraits*, 244.

¹⁰³ This baptism was mocked in cartoon-fashion in the *Indianapolis Star*, in stark racist caricature of Seymour and the entire Pentecostal group, in an depiction entitled “The Gliggy Bluks’ Water Carnival,” see, “Baptismal,” *Enrichment*, Spring 2006, 34; Martin, *Seymour*, 309, plus, photos courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society, 318-319; Lawrence, *Apostolic Faith Restored*.

3.6 Henry Prentiss and the Downtown Indianapolis Mission

Haywood was converted in the downtown African American mission which Henry Prentiss, a truly unique Azusa Street minister, had come to pastor. The historical detail of Prentiss' role in the Indianapolis revival, after leaving Azusa, has been one of the most elusive of all the early participants. His ancestry, like so many African-American descendants, due to slavery, has been difficult to decipher. It is now clear that he was born Christmas Day 1873 on a 'Beverly Manor' farming estate near Staunton, Virginia in the Shenandoah Valley.¹⁰⁴

The Apostolic Faith carried the phenomenal story of Henry Prentiss, his conversion, ministry, and repeated arrests, in the December issue 1906. It was simply signed "A Worker." Prentiss wrote: "I came from Frisco to Los Angeles five days after the earthquake." Admittedly, Spirit baptism did not come easy, or quickly, for him. After "having the devils cast out of me," Prentiss reveals, and after "much study of the word," he finally "spoke with new tongues" in late September. Thirty-two when he received Spirit baptism at Azusa, Prentiss was, positively, one of the mission's most colorful figures.¹⁰⁵

In June 1906 he was nearly lynched for "disturbing the peace" at a tent meeting in progress less than two miles from Azusa, when he pointed his finger at a White Church of God minister's daughter and declared her "a sinner." Found guilty of the charges, he

¹⁰⁴ 1880 US Census, Beverly Manor District, Augusta County, Virginia, 20. Staunton was the birthplace of President Woodrow Wilson, architect of the federal segregationist 'Jim Crow' laws which produced the fallacy of 'separate, but equal' race requirements.

¹⁰⁵ "Arrested For Jesus' Sake," *The Apostolic Faith*, December 1906, vol. 1. no. 4, 3, contra Peagler, *Haywood*, 11, per Fannie Ellis' account; Robeck, *Enrichment*, "Timeline," 70, with each of the article's details being that of Prentiss' timeline, notably, the singular Oct. 4, 1906 "board of insanity" incident, and his fall attendance of the "Bible school up at Azusa St.," cf. Robeck, *Azusa*, 95; also, "Unusual Noise," *The Apostolic Faith*, November 1906, vol. 1, no. 3, 1.

served thirty days on a chain gang. Police arrested Prentiss again in October at a downtown street service, fearing his tongues speaking a sign of insanity.¹⁰⁶

The next month, in Whittier, along with three other Azusa comrades, Prentiss was arrested, but the case was declared a mistrial and later dismissed. In December, on his thirty-third birthday, he was nearly lynched in Anaheim, California. Three days later he was arrested, again, in Whittier, and, again, the trial ended in a mistrial and was later dismissed.¹⁰⁷

After Prentiss' court appearance in January 1907, he began a series of itinerant evangelistic trips up the West coast, preaching for Adolph Rosa in San Francisco, for example, in February and March. *The Apostolic Faith* published his itinerary as he traveled in April and May with Florence Crawford and "Sister Rees" from Santa Rosa, to San Jose, then on to meetings in Portland, Oregon. John Glassco's mission on 2nd Ave., shortly after he received Spirit baptism in early May, was turned over to Crawford, who later left Azusa to pastor this work.¹⁰⁸

After the summer of 1907 and Seymour's Indianapolis visit, house meetings became the norm for the African-American members, although they were partially integrated initially. After the arrival of Prentiss as pastor in the fall, having worshipped in house meetings and a rented hall for a short while, a tiny tin shop building on W. Michigan St., just west of Blake St., was secured, in close proximity to most of the

¹⁰⁶ Martin, *Seymour*, 252-254; "Negro Preacher on Trial in Police Court," *Los Angeles Express*, June 12, 1906; Robeck, *Enrichment*, "Timeline," 68; Borlase, *Seymour*, 188; Thomas R. Nickel, *Azusa Street Outpouring* (Hanford, CA: Great Commission International, 1956), 15-18; "Pentecost Among the Young People," *The Apostolic Faith*, December 1906, vol. 1, no. 4, 1. Mistaken assumptions of Prentiss' young age at the time have likely been derived from this article.

¹⁰⁷ Robeck, *Enrichment*, "Timeline," 103, 104.

¹⁰⁸ Adolph Rosa, "In San Francisco," *The Apostolic Faith*, February-March, 1907, vol. 1, no. 6, 3; "Pentecost In San Jose and Portland," *The Apostolic Faith*, May 1907, vol. 1, no. 8, 4; Amos Morgan, "Mother Crawford," www.azusabooks.com/profile.shtml (accessed October 5, 2006), 8.

members. The early flock included among the faithful charter members Ernest Lloyd, Charles and Elizabeth Smith and family, Simon and Mary Barber and family, notably their son, Oddous Barber, later the Smith's son-in-law, and the Allen Woodring family, whose daughter Prentiss married in June 1908.¹⁰⁹

In February 1908 Prentiss put the Apostolic Faith Assembly back on the front page of the *Indianapolis Star*, with the press coverage of another Prentiss arrest and trial. Just days prior to this incident, which took place at Allen Chapel on February 23rd, Garfield and Ida Haywood, and his sister Gertrude, had trudged through ice and snow to attend Prentiss' mission for the first time. For all his earlier aggressive antics and scrapes, Indianapolis recollections of Prentiss have noted his praying, which was, reportedly, "like listening to an angel."¹¹⁰

3.7 G. T. Haywood's Conversion and Early Ministry

Ben and Ann Haywood raised their family in the 900 block of N. Bismarck Avenue (renamed Pershing during WWI) just to the west, over the White River, in the Haughville community, bounded by 16th on the north and W. Michigan on the south. Garfield and his young family were living next door to his parents. His mother and sister, Celia, had already received Spirit baptism.

Reflecting on the plight of "the Negro" in his 1908 weekly sketches for *The Freeman*, February 8th, Garfield depicted a young Black man standing on a bluff looking out, with the caption: "It is the West that the Negro's hope of the future lies." The tiny

¹⁰⁹ They used the homes of the Smiths (732 Adelaide St.) and Maggie Clark (White), Golder, *Haywood*, 3, whose account relies heavily on Barber. The Barbers were originally on Rhode Island St., and moved to Colton, just off Walnut St., where the Woodrings lived; *1900 US Census*, Marion County, Indianapolis, IN, A12, B12; *1910 US Census*, Marion County, Indianapolis, IN, 3A, 9A. See, details of the group in "Gliggy Bluk Preacher Fined For Contempt," *Indianapolis Morning Star*, March 5, 1908, 16, cited also in Gary W. Garrett, *The Chronicles of Pentecostalism and the Apostolic Movement* (Springfield, MO: Apostolic Christian Books, 2003), 165.

¹¹⁰ Golder, *Haywood*, 3.

mascot, with his suitcase, says: “I wonder what’s he waiting on?” Haywood was contemplating the means of success for the African-American, amidst all the obstacles.¹¹¹ His personal decisions, in terms of his own future, were also being cast.

After weeks of Barber’s attempts to convert him, Haywood was finally convinced by Prentiss, and determined to visit the mission. After Haywood slipped into the crowded service, eye witness oral accounts of his Spirit baptism that night state that ‘he was sprawled prostrate on the floor.’ Then, suddenly, “the power of the Lord fell on him like a lightning bolt.”¹¹² In a rare semi-biographical, historical sketch, Haywood himself said, concerning the mission at that time: “Night after night scores of anxious souls would make their way to that little dusty, bay window building and tax it to its capacity. Long before one could reach the door, songs of praise could be heard floating in the air for several blocks away.”¹¹³

Within days of Haywood’s conversion visit, Prentiss, with some of his saints, attended the Allen Chapel AME, on February 23rd, a couple of miles east of the mission, and interrupted the service by bursting into speaking in tongues during the sermon. After Prentiss was arrested, the press immediately connected him to Cook’s “Gliddy Bluks”

¹¹¹ “The Land of Promise,” *The Freeman*, February 8, 1908, 1; see, also, his sketch depicting “The Negro Path to Success,” *The Freeman*, February 29, 1908, 1. After Haywood’s 1908 conversion, his sketches in *The Freeman* for that balance of the year were decidedly political. But many of those in 1909, his final year with the paper, contained religious themes. Due to the fact that the articles are unsigned which accompany these sketches, it isn’t possible to determine whether or not they were written by Haywood.

¹¹² *1900 US Census*, Marion County, Indianapolis, IN, 12, confirms the address given twice in 1908 for Haywood in *The Apostolic Faith*. Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 9. Golder, per the timing in February, sequences the events with Haywood’s baptism preceding the arrest of Prentiss, and Barber’s own brothers, who were with Prentiss at Allen Chapel and also arrested, Golder, *Haywood*, 4. Ben Haywood evidently died in the mid-1910’s, not being listed in the 1917-18 WWI Registration records. “Anna” is widowed by the *1920 US Census*, Marion County, Indianapolis, IN, 13A. They were in Haywood’s church “in their later years,” Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 9.

¹¹³ Haywood wrote the account in 1924, and it is reproduced, in slightly altered form, in both Golder, *Haywood*, 31-37 and Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 16-18, 24; see, also, Tyson, *Chalices*, 331.

interracial revival of the previous year. They, therefore, followed the March 4th trial with great interest, and in April, Prentiss was found guilty. The Allen Chapel trial coverage evidenced considerable growth in Prentiss' church, numbering his trial supporters at about a hundred. Several had joined him from Bethel AME on W. Vermont Street, just blocks from the W. Michigan Street mission.¹¹⁴ They had to relocate to larger quarters half a block down Michigan at Minerva, a street which is now eliminated by the Indiana University campus.

Furthermore, two important inter-related issues regarding the historical record have remained unclear. First, how and when did Haywood assume leadership? But, also, why and when did Prentiss leave? Answers to these questions have been exacerbated by conflicting interpretations of both the oral accounts and of Haywood's own written statements.

An important piece of the historical data has been mostly overlooked, as well, that of a news clip of Haywood and an article containing his testimony, printed in the final two 1908 issues of *The Apostolic Faith*, during or after the split between Seymour and Crawford, in Portland. The second, "Pentecost in Indianapolis," quotes an original written testimony sent by Haywood:

... a light shined about me and I fell to the floor, and when I tried to get up found that I was helpless. I could see no one.... I tried to say, 'What is it?' but could not, for the flow of Latin words which were readily recognized. It was no longer I that spoke, but the Spirit of God that was in me. Suddenly my speech was changed and German words flowed from my lips. I was wonderfully blest.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ "Bluks Invade Allen Chapel and Stop Sermon," *Indianapolis Star*, April 24, 1908, 1; "Gliggy Bluks Are Fined," *Indianapolis Star*, April 25, 1907, Robeck, *Enrichment*, "Timeline," 106; Martin, *Seymour*, 254. Other *Indianapolis Star* articles included "Gliggy Bluk Pleads Own Case and Pays 3 Fines," March 5, 1908, and "Invade the Bluks' Temple," April 25, 1908, 1. The *Indianapolis News* also carried the story: "For Disturbing Service," March 4, 1908, 7; "Tongues at Allen Chapel," April 24, 1908, 7.

¹¹⁵ "Pentecost In Indianapolis," *The Apostolic Faith*, July-August, 1908, vol. 2, no. 5, 4. See, also, Robeck, *Azusa*, 284-287, for a discussion regarding the debate of the

Both pieces identify Haywood's home on Bismarck, next to his parents. The July issue reports: "At least 200 have received the baptism of the Holy Ghost in Indianapolis in the past year." The June news clip states that "several hundred have been baptized with the Holy Ghost, *now under the leadership of Brother Haywood.*"¹¹⁶ The conventional interpretation of the various Haywood statements has been that he worked for a year under Prentiss, who turned the church over to Haywood in February, then departed back east. Haywood's statements and the related data do not appear to support these assumptions. *The Apostolic Faith* announcement clarifies that Prentiss no longer led the mission in June 1908, but that Haywood had become pastor within four months of his Spirit infilling.

The record is also clear that Prentiss did not mentor in any way the ongoing developments of the congregation, or follow Haywood's rise to prominence, or emulate his entrance into either the PAW or the Oneness movement. If he left Indianapolis at this time, it was temporary. Thirteen years her senior, Prentiss married Josephine Woodring in Indianapolis June 2, 1908, a union which may have even precipitated the change in leadership at the mission. Nonetheless, Henry and Josie remained, or later returned, as Indianapolis residents in mid-1910.¹¹⁷ Prentiss was still indicating, at this point, that he was a "minister" and "missionary," living with her family on Douglas Street, just off

"authenticity" of these two issues. The debate is related to the authority and location of publication, not content.

¹¹⁶ "Indianapolis, Ind.," *The Apostolic Faith*, June 1908, vol. 2, no. 14, 1; italics added; cf., also, C. M. Robeck, Jr., "Haywood, Garfield Thomas," *NIDPCM*, 693, "By the end of 1908 Henry Prentiss had turned the Indianapolis work over to Haywood," italics added.

¹¹⁷ Marion County, Indiana, *Index to Marriage Record 1906-1910*, County Clerks Office, Book 49, 261, at www.ancestry.com, "Indiana Marriage Collection, 1800-1941." *1910 US Census*, Marion County, Indianapolis, IN, 3A. "Days Statistics: Births," *Indianapolis Star*, June 29, 1910, 12, "Rev. Henry and Josephine Prentiss," italics added. Also, their names do not appear on outgoing missionary passenger lists for the period.

Minerva. Their son Francis was born in Indianapolis, as well, in June 1910. Haywood, by this time, was already becoming prominent throughout Pentecostalism.

The scenario that best accounts for Prentiss' remaining in the city, yet having no involvement with Haywood's ministry, as well as for the conventional assumption of an eastern departure, is a separation. No hints as to a cause are mentioned, and Haywood, for that matter, never mentions Prentiss in his account. Yet Haywood's few comments and his actions are consistent with a separation characterization: "In February, 1909, with about thirteen Saints, we opened up *another* little Assembly in a vacant storeroom on the corner of Twelfth and Lafayette Streets."¹¹⁸ Apparently, therefore, Prentiss intended to relinquish leadership of the mission to Haywood in June, as indicated in *The Apostolic Faith*, but, due either to his remaining in Indianapolis, or to a later return, Haywood willingly and quietly surrendered leadership of the W. Michigan & Minerva mission.

Haywood's 12th St. mission, then, was an additional mission, which Haywood had located a respectable distance away, a mile and a quarter North to Lafayette St. This interpretation explains why he started over with thirteen, rather than the hundreds reported just nine months prior. When the church relocated again, in the fall of 1910, or, as Haywood points out, "a little more than a year" before the first convention in November 1911, it was only a few blocks west down 12th to Missouri St.

After the convention in 1911, they moved permanently into the Peniel Mission which they first rented at Senate Avenue and Eleventh Street. They later purchased the building and, in 1919, by adding a second level, enlarged the seating capacity to over a thousand, allowing the rapidly growing Apostolic Faith Assembly to remain at this location until the current "Christ Temple" was completed in 1924.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 16, italics added.

¹¹⁹ Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 17, 24, with Haywood stating: "In November 1911, we moved from the little storefront on 12th and Missouri Streets with a little band of about 50

Few early Pentecostal leaders, White or Black, experienced the level of ministerial success and influence that accompanied Haywood's rise to prominence, and, soon, his church became the dominant influence in Pentecostalism in Indianapolis. The rapid expansion of Haywood's church began late in 1911, with the popularity of his annual convention, the widening circulation of *The Voice in the Wilderness*, his writings and music, his interracial and revival zeal, his acclaim as a Bible scholar and preacher, and the recognition of his extraordinary leadership abilities.¹²⁰

Eventually, too, there was an assimilation of saints from Prentiss' original work into the Eleventh Street work, but precisely what became of Prentiss' ministry is not known. By 1917 he was in Chicago, evidently not in ministry, and his wife was not listed as the "nearest relative." By 1920 the Prentisses disappeared from the records, and their nine year old son was living with her parents and family, who had relocated to Detroit.¹²¹

Haywood's influence, though, continued unabated. As Wacker has noted in *Heaven Below*:

Adherents undoubtedly received baptism and healing under Haywood's ministry, but those were not the gifts for which he was (and remains) most widely and proudly remembered. Instead, contemporaries and biographers emphasized his astonishing mastery of the King James text of the Bible, including his ability to fire biblical passages like bullets from a Gatling gun.... Individuals who possessed or were perceived to possess exceptional learning, and who demonstrated an ability to integrate that learning with daily life, found honor among their fellow believers.¹²²

saints." "'Gliggy Bluk' Meeting Set," *Indianapolis Star*, November 4, 1911, 7. Also, by 1910, Haywood had moved his family to Fayette St. & West St., not far from the church location, see, *1920 US Census*, Marion County, Indianapolis, IN, 4A.

¹²⁰ With Haywood's sketch work with *The Freeman* and *The Recorder* ended with the December issues, he then began his own paper, *The Voice in the Wilderness*, in the Spring of 1910, with his brothers doing the printing.

¹²¹ *1918 WWI Registration Card*, "Henry Prentiss," "Local Board for Division #3," Chicago, 1645, listing the nearest relative as "Mrs. Shelton, 1720 South St., Philadelphia, Penn," suggesting a separation, or that Josie had passed away; *1920 US Census*, Wayne County, Detroit, MI, 16B; see, also, *1930 US Census*, Wayne County, Detroit, MI, 2A.

¹²² Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 153.

3.8 Conclusion

The Haywood conversion was a most opportune event indeed for developing early Oneness Pentecostalism, love for memorizing the King James Bible, exceptional giftedness, and all, participating as he did in guiding the essential coalescing of theological and ecclesiological elements in the forging of a solidly viable movement. With its mixture of Azusa Street influences, especially the African American aspects of that revival, the Midwestern revival dared to soar upon its own wings, chance the complete loss of the support of the broader movement, and nest itself in the heights of a new, radical vision of Pentecostalism.

In doing so the Oneness movement swept the flagship organizational body of Azusa Street, the PAW, into the vital flow of its theological and structural development, so that it served the needs of assimilating the diverse, but newly re-aligned elements of the tongues movement into an orderly unit. At the center of that order were the emphases of doctrinal purity, experiential faith and the God's power, and the reality of a tenacious racial equality. For the Oneness proponents their dream of Pentecost was viewed as the re-fulfillment of opportunities lost in translation and blurred in the failures of Azusa Street's experiences, but of which they were confident.

Though theologically "Oneness," these aspects of developing Pentecostal dynamism were not at all peripheral to the core of the broader movement's ethos and vitality, but birthed in it. The historical details regarding the early Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and its related organizational centers throughout the U.S. and the world are the story of early Pentecostalism itself, and of the "Apostolic Faith" envisioned earlier in the movement. They were, therefore, fired by the ideas of the Azusa Street revival and inspired by them, but determined, nonetheless, to make their own way, whether for better or worse.

Nevertheless, as William Faupel says of the Assemblies of God, even in the choosing of their own way, the results are the outworking of restorationist “yearning” and vision derived and inculcated from a broader context, from its “restorationist origins” received from a faith steeped in the early Pentecostal, Evangelical, and Holiness milieu of countercultural religious life.¹²³ The restorationist impulse within Oneness Pentecostalism, though not held consistently enough to undo racial inequity within its own history and ranks, was strong enough to rekindle the hope of a truly meaningful interracial entity for some years to come.

¹²³ D. William Faupel, “The Restoration Vision in Pentecostalism,” *Christian Century*, October 17, 1990, 938-941, from Religion Online, Ted and Winnie Brock, <http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=818> (accessed May 8, 2010). The original article is a review of Edith Blumhofer’s two volume *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism*, in which Faupel states: “Had Blumhofer used the restorationist framework to interpret the history of the denomination as she did its prehistory, the work would have been even more illuminating. For example, that the early leaders could denounce the church fathers as apostate one minute and then turn to embrace them the next in order to declare the “oneness” view of the Godhead to be heresy, was quite remarkable indeed.”

CHAPTER FOUR

The Frazee Era Emergence of Oneness Pentecostalism and the Transitional Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (1912-1918)

Frazee's decade of leadership has remained an era of obscurity, as has his history, Oneness conversion and rebaptism, and theological positioning, begging the question as to why so little has been known about him. Partially to rectify this paucity of data a major emphasis in this research has been the Frazee history and its overall importance in the emergence and development of the movement. Ross Paddock's popular PAW history is typical of earlier attempts to assess the Frazee era: "Elder Frazee,... served until he disappeared from the scene in 1918. We have no knowledge of what happened to him. We believe he died in the influenza epidemic of that time."¹

4.1 Shedding Light on an Obscure Era of Oneness Origins

J. J. Frazee most assuredly did not disappear in the flu pandemic of 1918, but rather amidst the tumultuous changes and political uncertainties which so thoroughly shook Pentecostalism at the time of the emergence and coalescence of the Oneness movement. Documents that have recently come to light which have been most helpful in a reconstruction of the J. J. Frazee life and era are the preserved records of a 1917-1918 inquiry into the PAW by the Bureau of Investigation, now the FBI. These records have reduced some of the mystery surrounding Frazee's role in the events of the emerging Oneness movement. The most valuable of these documents is the only known copy of a *1917 PAW Minute Book* with a ministerial roster.²

¹ Paddock, *Apostolic Heritage*, 47-48; Ross P. Paddock (1907-1990), Kalamazoo, Michigan, served as PAW Assistant Presiding Bishop from 1953-1967 and Presiding Bishop 1967-1974.

² Numerous PAW-related documents are included with the files of the PAW probe in what is listed as FBI Publication #M1085. They are dated June 1917 to August 1918.

Before the uncovering of these documents the earliest known PAW minute book and roster had been the *1918 PAW Minute Book*. Tyson, for example, has noted that the “earliest records available of the embryonic PAW are found in the minute book and ministerial record dated 1918 and 1919.”³ It is clear from the 1917 records that the PAW did, in fact, publish records for earlier years as well, although it is not known just how early. Also, it remains a likely probability that the 1917 minutes were specifically prepared for the FBI investigation, with the intent of meeting perceived expectations regarding pacifist exemption.⁴

About ten of the documents in the FBI File #55234 relate directly to Frazee, including an agent’s interview report in Portland with Frazee, as well as insightful letters to and from Frazee regarding the PAW position on the war. Considering the dearth of Frazee historical materials, such documents have been very helpful in reconstructing at least some of his life details. The *1917 Minute Book and Ministerial Record* contains an almost complete roster of the ministers of the PAW from late 1916 to early 1917, that period just after the raging debate, and expulsion of its Oneness ministers, in the AG.

The 1917 rosters, therefore, are the first glimpse of the actual list of pre-Oneness PAW ministers, dating back to the earliest days of the PAW, and prior to the adjoining GAAA ministerial constituency. A detailed evaluation of the roster and complete FBI file unveils a most enlightening portrait of the transitioning PAW, especially the original

³ FBI Report #55234, Publ. M1085 of the “Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922,” 108pp, including the *Minute Book and Ministerial Record of Pentecostal Assemblies of the World*, Portland, Oregon, U.S.A., Year 1917-1918, 19pp; Cf., Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 188; The 1918 “roster,” though, noted in this quote by Tyson, could not be found for purposes of this research. Also, a rare 1914 photo of the J. J. Frazee family has recently been archived by the OSI.

⁴ The entire ordeal proved extremely stressful and challenging to the leadership of the PAW, paralleling precisely the period of time in which the merger efforts of the PAW and GAAA were transpiring, as well as the somewhat inexplicable Frazee withdrawal from the PAW.

diversity of its early ministerial constituency. Clearly, the majority of the ministers of the early PAW were from the west coast, with several being Azusa Street associated ministers.⁵

This comparative trove of Frazee history data unveils, nonetheless, a continuing enigmatic story in microcosm, not merely of the PAW, but of a fractured Pentecostalism and a tenuous and undeniable back-and-forth of defenders, detractors, and defectors at the height of the Oneness controversy. For Frazee, the events led, ultimately, to the truly consummate defection—that of the vast majority of the ministers of the ‘pre-Oneness’ PAW and, probably, even of Frazee himself. Therefore, this period is best understood as the era of the transitional PAW.

After nearly four years of resilient adaptation, neither Frazee nor the majority of ministers in the PAW were able to continue to absorb successfully the tumult resulting from the ramifications of the radical ‘new issue’ of the Oneness movement with respect to its politic or theology. Instead, as detailed in the following chapter, sometime before mid-1918 the Frazee era ended in a transitional foment of ministerial defection, abandonment, and realignment, as a large majority simply withdrew.

Yet, before the changes brought on by the Oneness issue, the 1917 ministerial rosters demonstrate that under Frazee’s leadership the transitional PAW had expanded to 548 ministers, even without the 1918 influx of Oneness ministers. An evaluation of the list also shows the number of Oneness ministers in the PAW as late as 1917 was still a clear minority, less than one quarter of the total PAW.⁶ What comes into focus, therefore,

⁵ The *1917 PAW Minute Book* is missing 1 of 19 pages, page 18, which contained the ‘S’s.’ Coincidentally, the PAW minister who was the focus of the investigation of the War Department was “Sherman, H. J.” Pagination was assigned to the FBI Publication #M1085 file *as retrieved* for purposes of sequence, retrieval and citation.

⁶ FBI File#55234, *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 34-44.

throughout this era is the magnitude of the radical nature of the transitional events which took place between 1912 and 1918.

The J. J. Frazee Era was fraught with the most dramatic transitions imaginable for a fledgling organization, first its transition to the Finished Work theology of Durham and then its transition from Trinitarian to Oneness theology.⁷ Neither of these amazing transitions could have transpired at all without the support and leadership of Frazee as the head of the PAW. Of the early Oneness leaders, Frazee best represents the period of transition, both in terms of his unique position and in terms of the impact transition had on his own life. Yet, having served as PAW Secretary and Chairman for more than a decade (1908-1918), he left behind little more than an obscure historical trail—no liturgies, no periodical articles, no rebaptism accounts, no doctrinal insights, and certainly no explanations regarding his own abrupt disappearance.⁸

Although Ewart's proximity to Frazee, both in Los Angeles and Portland, assured their personal acquaintance, yet the earliest history of the movement, published by Frank Ewart himself in 1947, *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, does not even mention Frazee. In 1918 the prominent Oneness leader W. E. Kidson served directly with Frazee as the recording secretary at the January 1918 merger of the PAW and the General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies, the Oneness organization of White ministers which formed after the AG expelled them.

⁷ Yet this historically critical era has been the most neglected segment of Oneness historical comprehension and clarity, resulting in the shrouding of these events and personalities in an enigmatic past. And, indeed, the unfolding of these transitional events and Frazee's role in them are key elements in an understanding of early Oneness Pentecostalism.

⁸ Frazee was the PAW Secretary from 1908 to 1912, then Chairman from 1912 to 1918. The 1918 PAW/GAAA merger united Oneness ministers of the interracial PAW with the White ministers of the 'year-old' "General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies" under the southern leadership of Opperman. The merger changed the title "Chairman" to "General Superintendent," cf. Paddock, *History*, 47.

But Kidson's later recollection of Frazee was so vague as to imprecisely recount his name as "Frazier." The same is true of McClain, which might be accounted for on the basis of Kidson's recollection, or simply as a common citation error.⁹ But it highlights the formidable task of clarifying the contribution of J. J. Frazee as a key participant in this era of transition.

4.2 The Life and Leadership of J. J. Frazee

As with the scant information regarding the early PAW, so virtually nothing has been known historically about its early leader, J. J. Frazee, except an initialized, partial form of his name and his PAW titles. Beyond that, about all that has been known is that, suddenly, in 1918, he disappeared, without fanfare or notice, from Pentecostal ranks altogether. Interestingly, even with his proximity to Azusa, *The Apostolic Faith* never referenced him. The Frazee historical information has been so scant that PAW Bishop and historian Ross Paddock simply said: "we have no knowledge of what happened to him." He speculated that perhaps Frazee had succumbed to the deadly 1918 influenza pandemic that swept the world and took millions of lives, and that this is what may have necessitated the election of a new PAW chairman in the fall of 1918.¹⁰

Although it appeared that he had vanished, it was not due to his death. He lived to be 79 years of age, dying, in fact, in the Oregon State Hospital in 1930 where he been institutionalized for some years due to debilitating health. Events far more complex than unexpected death account for the intriguing replacement of Frazee in 1918, without

⁹ W. E. Kidson, *History of Pentecostal Organizations*, n. d., cited in *The Encyclopedia of American Religions: Vol.1*, J. Gordon Melton, ed. (Tarrytown, NY: Triumphant Books, 1991), 266-267; *Meat in Due Season*, "Minutes," February 1918, 3, the first publish PAW/GAAA merger minutes; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 289ff; *1918 PAW Minute Book*; S. C. McClain, *Seek First the Kingdom*, Robin Johnston, ed. (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 2005), 49. The PAW/GAAA merger took place January 22, 1918 in St. Louis, Missouri. From 1928-1943 Kidson was secretary of the Pentecostal Church, Inc., which merged to form the UPC in 1945, see, Anderson, *Disinherited*, 177.

¹⁰ Paddock, *Apostolic History*, 47-48.

explanation, with hints of tumult, and often unpredictable undercurrents associated with the fledgling young Oneness movement. But Frazee, 67 years of age when he left the PAW leadership, had been plagued with poor health, evidently, much of his life.

Known only in the fragments of historical detail as J. J. Frazee, he was actually named “Stephen Jacob Jackson Frazee” and born in January 29, 1851 in Leando, Iowa. The earliest census which lists him designates his race as “White” and indicates that his family farmed in this southeastern Iowa farming community along the Des Moines River’s south bank.¹¹ Because he shared his name, ‘Stephen J.,’ in common with his father, Frazee soon came to use his middle initials, ‘J. J.,’ instead. He was known to family and friends simply as “Jay.” Nonetheless, he is listed in ancestry documents as neither of these, but, earlier, by his given name “Stephen,” and later as Jacob J. Frazee.¹²

Tragically, at the young age of nine, as the result of a serious knee injury, caused from a bad fall from the hayloft, he became crippled for the rest of his life and was generally confined to a wheelchair. The census records have him listed as “Maimed, Crippled, Bedridden, or Otherwise Disabled.” This fatiguing and limiting disability, no doubt, impacted his leadership in unique ways, both frustrating and challenging his best efforts, and, eventually, taking its toll emotionally and mentally.¹³

¹¹ *1860 US Census*, Van Buren Township, Iowa, 287, in which both father and son are listed as “Stephen J.,” though in later censuses, “Jacob J.”; see, also, www.ancestry.com, “5 Generation Pedigree Chart, Jacob Jackson Frazee.” But his Frazee family roots were originally from New Jersey, although his parents were born in Ohio, farmers who later migrated into the Douds and Leando area in the early 1880’s.

¹² He was namesake of his mother’s (Sophia) maiden name, “Jackson,” and his maternal grandfather, “Jacob.” ‘Frazee’ is an Americanized spelling of a Dutch and German name, possibly “Freese,” see, *Dictionary of American Family Names*, vol. 1, Patricia Hanks, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 600. His ‘Frazee’ ancestry roots date back to the 1600’s in New Jersey.

¹³ “Tracking Down Rumors,” 17 Mar 2009, by ‘truitti’ family post, www.ancestry.com; *1880 US Census*, Van Buren Co., Iowa, 22; The only known photo of Frazee from 1914 has him in a wheelchair at age 63.

Yet he exemplified enormous determination and fortitude at an early age, attending college, like his two sisters before him, and becoming not only a music school teacher, but an accomplished vocalist and a musician proficient with several instruments. He reported competing in the vocal competition at the 1876 Philadelphia World's Fair at the age of 25.¹⁴ Not marrying until the age of 50, Frazee remained at home in Iowa, except for moving for a short while to La Junta, Colorado at the turn of the century.¹⁵

Returning to the farm, due to his mother's failing health, in 1901, Frazee met Anna, daughter of neighbors William "Clarence" and Mary Brizendine, the young 18 year old who had been helping his mother during her illness. Despite the disparity between Louvisa Anna's age, who was born in 1883, and Frazee's, they were married in 1901. He was 32 years Anna's senior and older than both of her own parents. Three years later, by 1904, after the death of their first son in childbirth in 1902, followed by the death of his mother in late 1903, they relocated to Mesa, Arizona, where another son, Stephen, was born.¹⁶ Then, in either late 1906 or early 1907, at the height of the Azusa revival, they had settled in the Los Angeles area.

Their earliest association with the Azusa Street mission in Los Angeles is unclear, but later they were certainly connected with Azusa Street via a mission in or near Rialto by 1910.¹⁷ Frazee had relocated his family to what is now the old downtown area of

¹⁴ "Rumors," family post by 'truitti,' www.ancestry.com; Local city directories list Frazee as a music teacher, including Mount Zion, *Iowa State Gazetteer*, "Mount Zion Directory," 1884-1885, 1266, as well as the 1900, 1910, and 1920 census reports. Interestingly, no census lists Frazee as a 'minister.'

¹⁵ *1900 US Census*, Otero County, LaJunta, Colorado, 18, a "music teacher & real estate dealer." His father died in 1882, and his mother remained in Iowa.

¹⁶ Louvica "Anna" Brizendine: *1900 US Census*, Burlington, Iowa, lists "Louvisa," with the birth year as February 1882, but in error, Kansas City, KS; see, tombstone, "Anna Smead," Woodland, CA, born "February 29, 1883." Frazee's mother, Sophia, died at the homestead November 7, 1903; see, "Mama's Family," and "Our Family," by 'truitti,' www.ancestry.com; *1910 US Census*, Rialto, California, 12.

¹⁷ The FBI Report #55234, 7, indicates that he was ordained with the PAW in 1908, probably in Los Angeles.

Rialto, the 300 block of Orange Street. Both of the nearby cities of San Bernardino and Redlands were communities in which PAW ministers were listed in 1917, although only Frazee was listed in Rialto. But it is not known definitely that Frazee was a pastor himself, or if he worked in close association with another minister, perhaps Hopkins.¹⁸ But he did enter the ministry late in life.

Originally, he may have been commended to the office of secretary on the basis of his exceptional educational training as a school teacher, and even because of his ‘seasoned’ age of 57 years, but not because of the number of years in the ministry. His early PAW connections also link him to Azusa Street, as Hopkins most certainly was. Frazee, Haywood, and the PAW were strong advocates of women preachers, perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in Hopkins’ own position, and four year tenure, of PAW leadership.¹⁹

In 1912 as Frazee became head of the PAW the title of chairman was changed to “General Superintendent.” John and Elizabeth “Rosa” Mautz were Hungarian-born

¹⁸ Paul Frazee, a second son, was born June 1907 in Los Angeles. Frazee gives the exact date of his ordination, FBI File #55324, Hudson’s Report, 2. If he was a pastor, the census does not list him as such, or even as a minister, but rather as a “music teacher” in Rialto conducting his “own classes,” *1910 US Census*, Rialto, CA, 12; *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 19, 10.

¹⁹ J. J. Frazee’s wife, Louvisa, was also an ordained minister. Undoubtedly, Haywood was deeply influenced by this early championing of the validity of women preachers, having joined the PAW under the specific leadership of Hopkins. It is not, therefore, astonishing that 32% of the 1917 ministers were women, more than twice that of the 1917 Assemblies of God. See, *1917 PAW Minute Book*, FBI Report #55234, 34, with 159 women ministers out of 498; In this minute book female preachers were always designated as ‘Miss’y’; Cf., *1917 General Council of the AG - Combined Minutes*, 27, with 107 of 693 (15%). And even in the PAW, in spite of its rudimentary openness to women in ministry, the role of women still was greatly limited. Certainly, all did not share the view of Seymour, Frazee, and Haywood regarding the acceptability of women ministers. Ewart published Morse’s article, “A Woman’s Place in the Body,” more than once, which stated: “Some think Paul against a women ministry. They can pray and prophecy.... I also believe they can teach.... I believe if the brethren will open the way for a liberal ministry to the sisters, and they turn the ruling part over to the brethren, we will get together and be a wonderful help to each other in the ministry.” See, *The Good Report*, “A Woman’s Place in the Body,” Harry Morse, Stockton, CA, June 1, 1913, vol. 2, no. 1, 2.

Germans who immigrated to Ohio in 1906, but moved to San Antonio, Los Angeles County shortly thereafter, about the time of the arrival of the Frazees.²⁰ Mautz was elected PAW secretary in 1912 as well, and, although the PAW was to soon relocate to Portland, Oregon the Mautzes remained behind in California. During the six years from 1912 to 1918 the PAW officers, Frazee and Mautz, remained unchanged as the Oneness issue emerged and the organization's fundamental premise transitioned to embrace it.²¹

4.3 The PAW Transition to Finished Work Theology (1911-1912)

The first of the major transitional issues to rage within Pentecostal circles, and particularly in the PAW, was the doctrinal controversy raised by William Durham over sanctification which was known as the Finished Work debate. As the issue began to emerge in 1910, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World had expanded well beyond its Azusa Street origins, as a growing interracial ministerial body, with Frazee already in key leadership. Frazee's 1912 rise as head of the organization occurred at the time that the Finished Work controversy throughout the movement was at its peak.

4.3.1 The PAW's 1912 Relocation to Portland, Oregon

A comprehension of a critical puzzle piece in the Frazee history depends upon an accurate interpretation of the timing of both Frazee's own Finished Work conversion and his Portland relocation. Prior to Frazee's leadership, but as late as 1911, and the time Haywood himself joined, Haywood says that the PAW "was still based in Los Angeles." The headquarters was also still in Los Angeles at the time that Frazee assumed the

²⁰ *1920 US Census*, San Antonio, CA, 3B; born c. 1876; German-speaking; Jacob and Jenny Mautz, also, both PAW ministers, and a younger brother, immigrated in 1903 and 1900, respectively; They did not leave the PAW, as did John, after the merger with the GAAA.

²¹ Elsworth Davidson served briefly as "pro tem" secretary, merely for the January 1917 Portland meeting; *1920 US Census*, "Asa E. Davidson," Portland, OR, 2B. Mautz may have simply been unable to attend, but he remained, nonetheless, on all official PAW correspondence letterhead sent to the government as late as 1918; FBI File#55234, 34.

leadership of the PAW in March of 1912. Haywood's 1911 affiliation with the PAW is confirmed by his own statements in 1921 in *The Voice in the Wilderness*.²²

In all probability, Frazee, then, continued in the Los Angeles area into the year 1912, since the PAW meetings and the election of Frazee were held there during this time as well. The minutes, though, for this period record no attempt to incorporate the PAW in Los Angeles. Clearly, too, the census records for 1910 affirm that Frazee was still in Los Angeles, not Portland. A Frazee reference in the "Brief Minutes" has been routinely misinterpreted because it speaks of him as supposedly "of Portland" when mentioning his election in Los Angeles in "1908."²³

This appears to be one of several such anachronistic oversights in the summarized version of the "Brief Minutes" for 1907-1916, likely at the hand of Frazee himself. The reference, too, is almost certainly proof that the minutes themselves were actually written up in their 'brief' form much later, the originals being merely session notations which required further delineation in later circumstances.

It is true, though, that the Finished Work debate was a raging controversy in California by the time of the 1912 PAW elections. Evidence suggests that Frazee was clearly with Haywood on this issue, and that it may have influenced, or even motivated, his decision to relocate the PAW to Portland. But Sister Hopkins' own position regarding this new debate, and whether or not the debate impacted the call for elections, or the change in PAW leadership, in early 1912, is simply not known. Certainly the diminishing Azusa Street revival was no longer the dominant center of the burgeoning tongues

²² See, quote in Golder, *Haywood*, 53 and Golder, *History*, 35, copies of *The Voice in the Wilderness* being available to Golder at the time, though not currently.

²³ "Brief Record of Minutes 1907-1917," *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 8. Peagler's suggestion that the PAW met in 1912 specifically in order to also "officially incorporate," Peagler, *Haywood*, 77-79; *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 34; *1910 US Census*, Rialto, CA, 12.

movement, having lost its international voice—*The Apostolic Faith* paper, spirited off to Portland in 1908.

Nevertheless, probably shortly afterwards, Frazee moved to Portland, Oregon, and relocated the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World to property at 773 Third Street. This location served both as a residence for his family and as the PAW headquarters, boasting a “big sign on the building.” The investigative government report, in 1917, reveals that FBI Special Agent Hudson could not even imagine that this property was a valid headquarters for a church organization, describing it in August 1917 as “little more than a shack” in the “remote southern part of the city.”²⁴

The impact of the divisive Finished Work issue, in itself, is the most probable impetus for Frazee’s sudden move north to Portland, spurred, inevitably, by the prospect of severed ties with Azusa. In Portland Frazee’s pastoral role and oversight of several churches is at least alluded to in the later FBI reports. It becomes apparent, then, that the key leaders of the PAW, therefore, including Frazee, Ewart, and Haywood, contributed to the resulting turmoil in that they themselves had already, early in the debate, become Finished Work sympathizers and partisans.

4.3.2 Initial Links between the Finished Work and Oneness Movements

The Azusa Street mission and the entirety of the Pentecostal movement suffered an enormous rift from the severity of the impact of William H. Durham and his Finished Work doctrine. His view represented an aggressive rejection of the Wesleyan sanctification view espoused by the Holiness movement and original Pentecostalism, and as such was a model for Oneness emulation in the following years. Theologically,

²⁴ FBI File #55324, 81, Letter, Special Agent Byron, March 11, 1918; Special Agent Hudson, Report, August 8, 1917, 7-8.

according to Riss, Durham held to “a gradual process of appropriating the finished work of Christ, not an instantaneous work of grace subsequent to conversion.”²⁵

As a result, he objected to the doctrine of entire sanctification “because he felt it circumvented the need for an ongoing sanctification process in the life of the Christian.” Although Durham’s finished work theology quickly emerged as the dominant view in Pentecostal circles, Durham, at the height of the controversy and schism, died suddenly of pneumonia on July 12, 1912.²⁶

Nevertheless, during the spring of 1911, Durham had attempted to take over Seymour’s mission, preaching there from February to May 1911 while Seymour was away. The effort to undermine Seymour’s role was, clearly, a racial effrontery, but as Robeck points out, Seymour and the official board thwarted the coup by locking Durham out, May 2, 1911. Therefore, Durham’s efforts failed, forcing him instead to open his own mission on Seventh Street. Also at this time, Frank Ewart, who appears to have been thoroughly enamored with Durham, almost immediately relocated to Los Angeles and subsequently served as Durham’s assistant.²⁷

The battle in favor of the popularized Finished Work, life-process view of sanctification tore the unity of the Pentecostal movement apart, dramatically altering the Pentecostal landscape, including a new alignment of ministers which led to the need for a separate organizational structure and the eventual 1914 formation of the Assemblies of God. And like the majority of the Pentecostal movement, the PAW evidently moved quickly into the Finished Work camp.

²⁵ R. M. Riss, “Finished Work Controversy,” *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002), 638.

²⁶ Riss, “Finished Work Controversy,” 638.

²⁷ Robeck, *Azusa*, 316-317; Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 7, 74-75, 105; Martin, *Seymour*, 287-288.

The Finished Work and Oneness theological issues arose within the same context, just as Jesus-centered affection central to Oneness ideology derived from its unmistakable prevalence throughout early Pentecostalism. Early Oneness proponent R. E. McAlister, for example, before the emergence of an articulated Oneness theology, was thoroughly Christocentric even as he was transitioning into Finished Work theology.

In fact, his summation of vital Holiness Pentecostal devotion in 1911 in his periodical *The Good Report* was: “Everything in Jesus, and Jesus everything.” As late as 1913 the publication continued using this official Jesus-centered motto in the masthead of *The Good Report* although it had been a Finished Work publication for some years. The editors of the publication therefore transitioned within a very short span of time, first, from being proponents of Holiness Pentecostalism, then, Finished Work proponents, followed quickly by their advocacy of Oneness theology.²⁸

R. E. McAlister, the paper’s founder, had left a ministry in Portland, on good terms with Florence Crawford, to deputize in the fall of 1910 for missionary funds for Egypt. Delayed indefinitely by the year’s end in Ottawa, Canada, he decided to begin publishing *The Good Report* in May 1911. In less than a year the rapidly expanding ministry of the paper had reached an annual circulation of 70,000 total copies.

Nevertheless, by the end of the year 1911, McAlister and an array of other ministers associated with the publication of *The Good Report* had joined the Finished Work ranks and sought to aggressively promote Durham’s view throughout the pages of the periodical.²⁹ McAlister himself, in late 1911 or early 1912, published a strong

²⁸ See, the first issue of R. E. McAlister’s periodical, “Apostolic Faith Movement,” *The Good Report*, no. 1, May 1911, 4; *The Good Report*, vol. 1, no. 6, November 1, 1913, 1. The name of this periodical was changed from *The Good Report* to *Meat in Due Season* in the spring of 1914, coinciding with the Oneness rebaptisms initiated by Ewart and Cook.

²⁹ R. E. McAlister, “A Good Report,” *The Good Report*, May 1911, no. 1, 1; “Portland, Oregon, Mission, Cor. Front and Burnside,” 8, regarding Crawford’s mission;

defense of the doctrine in a “supplement” issue which he entitled “The Finished Work of Calvary.”³⁰

A majority of all early Pentecostals, in fact, hastily embraced the new finished work theology. “The Apostolic Faith platform has been in the process of construction,” Ewart wrote regarding the finished work debate early in 1912. “The creeds have been slaughtered, doctrines have been rejected, and others have been added to the platform through much suffering and sacrifice.”³¹ In 1913 *The Good Report* was moved to Los Angeles, with Frank Ewart and R. E. McAlister as primary editors.

Interestingly, Ewart and others were speaking of both Spirit baptism and the new finished work doctrine in terms of ‘greater light’ and possession of the “the true Gospel,” as they also did later in defense of their Oneness theology. Argue, for example, wrote: “As these truths have been revealed one by one.... Does it not appear that Luther, Wesley, Edwards, Cookman, Fox, Finney, and other good men did not have the full Gospel as we have it today?”³²

Even the renowned healing evangelist Maria Woodworth-Etter, whom Haywood “consistently supported,” was moving into the Finished Work camp by the time she

R. E. McAlister, H. L. Lawler, and H. E. Randall began deputation to go to Egypt and started the publication, while in route, to solicit funds and remain in contact with supporters.

³⁰ R. E. McAlister, “The Finished Work of Calvary,” Supplement to *The Good Report*, n. d., 4pp; The next issue, *The Good Report*, 1912, vol. 1, no. 3, was published before Durham’s death in July, see, “Pentecostal Testimony,” 8; McAlister states in the same issue, “The Supplement which we published *some time ago* on ‘The Finished Work of Calvary’ was the means in the hands of God of hundreds getting the light on this glorious truth...,” “Our Publications,” 16, italics added.

³¹ Frank Ewart, “Defending Heresies,” *The Good Report* (Ottawa, Canada) vol. 1, no. 3, 1912, 12, with Urshan a speaker at Durham’s mission, December 1911; also, Ewart, “The Work on the Coast,” 6, referring to Finished Work theology as “the true Gospel.”

³² McAlister, “Sanctification Is Not A Second Work of Grace,” 2, and A. H. Argue, “At Evening Time It Shall Be Light,” 6-7, *The Good Report* (Ottawa, Canada) vol. 1, no. 3, 1912.

preached the 1913 Arroyo Seco camp meeting in which the Jesus' Name issue erupted.³³ The Los Angeles based *Good Report* served as an excellent network for a number of Finished Work leaders, including D. W. Kerr, but its list of editors, assistant editors, and contributors looked more like a 'who's who' of the forthcoming Oneness movement. These included such men as R. E. McAlister, G. T. Haywood, Harry Morse, Frank Small, Glenn A. Cook, A. H. Argue, R. J. Scott, Elmer Fisher and L. V. Roberts. The disquiet of the 'new issue' was, decidedly, nipping at the heels of the sanctification battle, overlapping its theological divisiveness and interfering with its aspirations for the newly imagined Assemblies of God.³⁴

The sanctification issue and the rapid reorganization which ensued served well as a ready and effective worldwide network bringing together the central figures who would, in turn, initiate the Oneness controversy. It would also serve as an ideal model of trail blazing strategy for the Oneness issue, the vast majority of whose supporters were from the Finished Work camp. Not in spite of the Finished Work debate and movement, but largely indebted to it, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World was able to initially absorb the impact by finding its own innovative niche—a ministerial diversity representative of the divisions in the entire movement.

As a result, Holiness, or "second work," ministers appear to have remained with the transitioning PAW as the Finished Work ministers also joined, in spite of their

³³ Robeck, *Azusa*, 300; Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 79, 146; Wayne Warner, *Maria Woodworth-Etter: For Such A Time As This* (Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2004), 216-217; cf., *The Good Report*, August 1913, 1, printing Morse's article about the "Woman's Place" shortly after the Woodworth-Etter campaign at Arroyo Seco.

³⁴ McAlister joined with Ewart, see, *The Good Report*, vol. 2 (sic), no. 1, June 1, 1913, "Editorial Note," 2, and "Letter to Our Readers and Correspondence," 2: "...the editors of the respective papers, 'The Apostolic Faith' and 'The Good Report,' have decided to amalgamate these papers under the last name." After Durham's passing Ewart initiated a paper, no longer extant, using the familiar Azusa mission name, *The Apostolic Faith*. Haywood Canadian meetings in Ottawa and Winnipeg were noted, too, see, "A Full Gospel Convention," September 1, 1913, vol. 2 (sic), no. 4, 4; "Pentecostal Convention," November 1, 1913, vol. 1, no. 6, 2.

differences. The same phenomenon reoccurred in 1914 with the advance of the ‘new issue,’ this time straining the organization’s tolerance of a triad of theological positions to the limit, embracing Holiness, Finished Work, and Oneness ministers. Not until the merger of the PAW/GAAA, at the beginning of 1918, does it appear that this Frazee era position on ministerial diversity finally unraveled.

4.3.3 The Finished Work Debate in Portland, Oregon

Although a pastorate presumably factored into Frazee’s decision to move to Portland in 1912, an assumption that he was associated with Florence Crawford’s well-known ministry is certainly unwarranted. Rather than Crawford’s ministry, Frazee was already aligning himself with finished work ministry, indicated by his early connection to Will C. Trotter. One of Crawford’s earliest supporters, Trotter had originally moved from Los Angeles in order to help her in the founding of her new work in Portland.

But, by 1911, during a divisive visit to Portland by Durham himself, Trotter joined the ranks and became a Finished Work champion, establishing immediately another mission just three blocks from Crawford’s on Ankeny Street and, by 1912, his own camp meeting. Frazee implies, as well, that, subsequently, Trotter had been affiliated earlier with the PAW, which links Frazee and the PAW to the Finished Work theology, possibly in Los Angeles as early as 1911 or 1912 or soon after coming to Portland.

Also, according to Frazee, Trotter was later “set aside by the organization,” i.e., the PAW. Therefore, after leaving the PAW Trotter became, instead, a charter member of the AG in 1914. Nevertheless, their earlier joint camp meetings, which reported great success in *The Good Report*, such as the one conducted by R. E. McAlister in 1913, were

undoubtedly in direct competition with Florence Crawford's well-known summer camp meetings.³⁵

In the fall of 1917 *Meat in Due Season* published a report about one of Trotter's "most prominent workers," James Frey, who converted to the Oneness message in Kelso, near Portland, after notably strong "opposition." Frey, who was listed in Tulsa by 1919, was won as the result of meetings by A. Pelliociotti and his sister Nona. Just prior to this, Trotter had been interviewed by the FBI regarding Frazee and the PAW, and he did not respond favorably. Therefore, it must be assumed, Trotter's earlier disaffection with Frazee and the PAW, apparently, contributed to his strong resistance to the Oneness message in Portland.³⁶

Admittedly, these overlapping, shifting, and polarizing theological issues proved extremely volatile, with fallout resulting from some rather interesting shifts in allegiances, back and forth loyalties, and high profile defections. Even as early as 1907, as justification for her separation from Azusa, Florence Crawford had charged Seymour with abandonment of Wesleyan sanctification, an accusation also levied against Glenn A. Cook, prominent in Indianapolis Pentecostalism.³⁷

Crawford, though, chartered her own organization in October 1909, the Apostolic Faith Mission of Portland, Oregon, taking many of the churches along the Pacific coast which were previously committed to Seymour. One of the trustees, in fact, was E. W. Doak, the future head of the PAW. For Frazee to have brought the PAW, at any time,

³⁵ Robeck, *Azusa*, 299; Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 48; FBI File #55324, Hudson Report, 9, 13; Morgan, "Crawford," 10; "Portland Camp Meeting," *The Good Report*, August 1, 1913, 2. See, also, AG charter members, *General Council Minutes of the Assemblies of God*, 1914, 16, and "Brother Will Trotter," *Weekly Evangel*, April 3, 1915, 1.

³⁶ "Latter Rain Falling in Kelso," *Meat in Due Season*, September 1917, vol. 1, no. 22, 1; cf. Ellis Scism and Stanley Scism, *Northwest Passage: The Early Years of Ellis Scism, 1909-1949* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1999), 23-26, 40.

³⁷ Robeck, *Azusa*, 300.

under the auspices of Crawford's AFM, would have been, essentially, an inexplicable allegiance, both politically and theologically.

Apparently, no historical evidence links Frazee to Crawford's group, a union which would have required a realignment of loyalties, from Seymour to Crawford. The basic timing of the events, though, preclude a Frazee-Crawford association, especially in light of the Frazees' 1912, rather than 1908, Portland arrival amidst widespread turmoil of the Finished Work controversy.³⁸

4.4 Haywood's Earliest PAW Influence

At first glance Haywood's role in the earliest days of his involvement with the PAW has the appearance of merely informal input, but the emerging story indicates that he actually played a rather significant role in shaping the organization at least as early as 1911. Haywood's own wholehearted acceptance of the Finished Work issue theology possibly played a substantial part in his 1911 inspiration to join the PAW in the first place, but it certainly precipitated the theological direction along which the Oneness debate itself would eventually be developed.

For what it meant, the capacity of Haywood's role at this time was also official, at least in the sense that he functioned as a member of the Board of Field Representatives, although how early is not known, but it has been assumed that the position was more or less that of semi-figurehead hierarchy. If nothing else, the notoriety of a man like G. T. Haywood derived, to some extent, from the fact that he led one of the largest, most influential Oneness congregations anywhere.

³⁸ "...Crawford ... had clearly moved to limit Seymour's role... taking... most of the churches that had fed the Apostolic Faith movement," Robeck, *Azusa*, 303; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 189; cf. Reed, *In Jesus' Name*, 96; Tyson's conjecture that Frazee was "originally part of Florence Crawford's ministry" may simply connect them on the basis of the popular association of Portland with Crawford's ministry; Amos Morgan, "Mother Crawford," <http://www.azusabooks.com/profile.shtml> (accessed October 5, 2006), 8, which lists Jennie Seymour as another of the AFM trustees.

As early as 1912, Alexander A. Boddy, a British Anglican priest and editor of *Confidence*, while traveling through the United States, referred to the thirty two year old Haywood as “very devout” and as “a capable speaker.” “At this Mission they do know God,” he wrote admiringly, “and often have Baptisms in the Holy Spirit with the Signs following. The singing was just touching.” After preaching in Haywood’s church, “the largest Mission Hall” in Indianapolis, Boddy penned the remarkable observation: “It reminded one of the best days of the Welsh Revival.”³⁹

Frazee also reports, in his summary reports, or “Brief Minutes,” that the PAW held its own “annual meetings” in Indianapolis from 1913 to 1916, although they were never advertized as such. Haywood’s own church “annual conventions” at the “Apostolic Faith Assembly” were designated, at least for the government’s perusal, as official gatherings of the ministerial body of the PAW. Official or not, no venue elsewhere could have better served their purposes. Flower reported in *The Christian Evangel* in 1913 their “large tabernacle” at Eleventh Street and Senate Avenue seated “1,000 people.” Haywood’s annual ‘Convention,’ in fact, by 1916, was hosting an attendance of well over 1,000.⁴⁰

As a key figure in the movement, Haywood became increasingly indispensable to Frazee, who not only recognized his exceptional offerings, but utilized them. This is clearly exemplified in the following FBI report from the early part of 1917 FBI, which makes a pointed conclusion regarding Frazee, whether accurate or not, and also makes it a point to draw attention to Haywood being “a negro.”

³⁹ Alexander A. Boddy, *Confidence*, vol. vi, no. 1, January 1913, “Indianapolis,” 17.

⁴⁰ *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 8; Melton, “Haywood,” *Biographical Dictionary*, 107; See, also, “The Convention,” *The Voice in the Wilderness*, September 1916, no. 18, 1: “There were about 1,000 or more people present, besides the throng which was outside looking in at the windows.” *The Christian Evangel*, “Mid-Summer Pentecostal Convention,” July 19, 1913, 8. Haywood held his very first convention in 1912, Golder, *Haywood*, 36.

Elder G. T. Haywood, the man who wrote the letter to Provost General Crowder asking military exemption for Ministers of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, by the direction of Rev. J. J. Frazee, of this city, is a negro and resides at Indianapolis. A fair conclusion is that the Rev. Frazee is under the direction of Haywood and others who desire to secure military exemption for Ministers of the above faith.... The Rev. Frazee is an old man in very poor circumstances and it is unlikely that he has much influence or authority in the above organization.⁴¹

Equally consequential, Haywood attracted a growing number of African Americans, while setting himself at variance with both Seymour and Mason. According to Anderson's *Vision of the Disinherited*, the Blacks who embraced Finished Work theology, and were thus following Haywood's lead, were considerably more urban than their "second work" counterparts. They were, though, considerably fewer than Pentecostal Whites who became Finished Work, one eighth of Blacks, compared to two thirds of Pentecostal Whites. Virtually all of these Finished Work African Americans transitioned into the Oneness movement, to become what is currently its largest constituency group.⁴²

4.5 The PAW's Competitive Role with the AG

The divisive events in Portland involving Crawford, Finished Work advocates, and the PAW, were indicative of the issue raging across the country, and translated into a competitive element between the transitioning PAW and the newly forming AG. This element of competition arose at the dawn of the emergence of the Oneness movement and the changes which were sweeping the PAW into advocacy of the Jesus' Name issue.

⁴¹ FBI File #55324, Report of Special Employee Hudson, Portland, Oregon, in "Re: Pentecostal Assemblies of the Word, Anti-Conscription," August 8, 1917, 6-7.

⁴² Anderson, *Disinherited*, 171; Also, the vast majority of Oneness Pentecostals are also finished work, although not all documentation differentiates accurately Black Oneness groups as either 'Oneness,' or 'finished work.' Black Oneness groups represent the largest constituency group of Oneness Pentecostals, 11,230,000, or 40% of the movement, "2009 OSI Report."

4.5.1 The Pre-Oneness PAW and AG

The historical question of the nature and timing of the PAW charter also highlights this competitive element between the AG and the PAW. A difficult question to resolve is the issue of how, or even if, the PAW was officially chartered before its 1919 Indiana incorporation charter. In lieu of official state or county records to confirm the issuance of a charter in either Los Angeles or Portland, the answer remains inconclusive. The fact that the relocation of the headquarters to Indianapolis may have required a new Indiana charter does not imply that a previous charter did not exist. Even more to the point, the early discussions regarding the PAW were regarding the charter, not the founding or origin.

In early 1914 a most intriguing discussion by Bell, Goss, and Pinson relative to this issue was published in the AG periodical *Word and Witness*, and the articles appeared just weeks prior to the Hot Springs AG formation conference in Arkansas.⁴³ But questions remains as to what they meant by a “new charter,” whether a new state incorporation, a county or city charter or endorsement in Portland, or exactly what the circumstances of were regarding the PAW’s efforts, but it appears relatively certain that the precise timing with the AG formation conference indicates their attempt, at the very least, to demonstrate their competitive positioning as a formidable Pentecostal body.

Goss quotes only Haywood, but Bell also mentions Frazee, as well as others, in citing evidence of a Portland charter. In fact, Bell’s reference to Frazee appears to be the only known reference to him outside Oneness sources. The AG organizers were clearly intending in the presentation of these articles to oppose and offset the PAW competition, with Bell’s first reason being the PAW’s church-headquarters-type structure.

⁴³ E. N. Bell, “Bible Order Versus Fanaticism,” *Word and Witness*, March 20, 1914, 2-3; H. A. Goss and M. M. Pinson, “Important Notice About the General Assembly at Hot Springs,” *Word and Witness*, April 2-12 1914,” 2.

I have before me as I write a paper with the incorporate seal upon it. This paper reads, ‘in connection with the Assembly at Portland.’ This charter, therefore, makes the Portland assembly HEADQUARTERS, and the letter head before me sets forth as the officers under this *new* charter Bro. Frazee as SUPERINTENDENT, brethren F. J. Ewart, R. E. McAlister, Eld. Haywood and others as the official FIELD MISSION-ARIES under the new charter.⁴⁴

They were, though, in complete agreement with the PAW as to the appropriateness of incorporating or chartering. As far as Bell was concerned “God’s word is as clear as daylight on this subject.” He had received credentials from Durham’s chartered local assembly in 1909, and, Bell quipped, they “have never bit me yet.” “More recently” than that, he continues, “the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World have been CHARTERED.” Goss adds: “But as Bro. Haywood wisely said concerning their chartering the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World at Portland, Ore., that ‘it is not organization, but *affiliation or association*’.” It is possible that, for Bell to draw attention to a need for “business sense,” he is inferring concerns over the PAW polity and structure.⁴⁵

Undoubtedly, the PAW chartering at this precise time, or at least the forwarding of official notification, was viewed by the AG hopefuls as strategically competitive, even if the PAW charter long predated the call for the AG gathering. Bell, though, essentially ignored the significance of the PAW’s prior origins, especially for the many, such as Haywood and the African American ministers, who, to AG Whites, were doctrinal heirs, yet disenfranchised as organizational heirs. For them, the PAW was a home for their priority of interracial aspirations.

⁴⁴ Bell, *Word and Witness*, “Bible Order,” 3; all-caps emphasis original.

⁴⁵ Goss and Pinson, *Word and Witness*, “Important Notice,” 2; Bell says that the PAW “has been chartered,” but he doesn’t explicitly say that it occurred in 1914, only that it was “more recently” than the Durham charter; *1918 PAW Minutes in Meat in Due Season*, February 1918, 1, which notes a discussion at the convention regarding “valuable information... as to the requirements of the laws to receive recognition *without being chartered*,” italics added; But this was likely a discussion regarding *local* church situations.

Bell ignored, obstinately, though not surprisingly, both the PAW's longevity and its charter, insisting that they give the AG priority by, evidently, dissolving the PAW: "Come and cast your lot in with us and let us cast ours with you. Could anything be fairer?" When Bell stated, "You brethren *out there* gave us no chance to join with you," the emphasis is regional control, which makes sense of his statement, "We are not after getting control of other parts of the country." "We merely ask all parts of the country to COOPERATE TOGETHER IN THE LORD."

For Bell, this could only mean for the PAW to relinquish its history and organizational edge and join them. Therefore, he sharply criticized the PAW as being devoid of cooperative effort "in the Lord" because it failed to give "the notice" of their endeavor to the whole world, while, nonetheless, daring to use such a grandiose name as Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. "We did not get in a corner," Bell adds, "and set up something with a big name."⁴⁶

Bell's comments do not merely highlight competitive realities which the emerging AG had with the PAW, but raise the question of whether or not the name "Pentecostal Assemblies of the World" was new to him or if he even had knowledge of its previous existence. It is quite difficult to conceive of the PAW's relative obscurity being so pervasive that Bell would not have been aware of the organization, but these references to new chartering do not necessarily imply either assumption.⁴⁷

4.5.2 The Racial Component in the Pre-Oneness PAW/AG Competitiveness

Yet a more subtle root to the competition may have been the less obvious issue of race, due to the interracial structure of the PAW, and the Assembly of God's resistance to

⁴⁶ Bell, "Bible Order," 3; italics added; Among the rather disingenuous criticisms of the PAW, Bell includes the complaint that they went "so far... in setting up one man" as "superintendent," and, therefore, gave "this distinction to ONE MAN ALONE."

⁴⁷ Based upon this E. N. Bell article and the reference to chartering, some scholars have assumed a 1914 origin of the PAW; cf. Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 195-197.

it. The racial aspect of the divide was immediately complicated, though, by the simultaneous eruption of the Oneness controversy among the Finished Work advocates who were advancing the launching of a new organization. The chartering issue served to mask, to a certain extent, the less obvious issue of opposition to the insistence within the Azusa Street based PAW that Black and Hispanics receive equal standing as credentialed ministers.

The Assemblies of God and the Jesus' Name, Oneness Pentecostal movement were vying for the same participants, only intensifying the issues as they had first presented themselves during the twelve months from mid-1913 to mid-1914. Goss, pastor in Hot Springs, Arkansas, site of the 1914 AG formation conference, Opperman, Bible school director and host of Woodworth-Etter's 1913 Hot Springs meeting, officials H. G. Rodgers, B. F. Lawrence, and E. N. Bell, and Bible school director R. B. Chisolm, were all AG organizers. They were also participants popularly swept up into the heart of the Oneness controversy.⁴⁸ Once the Oneness theological sweep had run its course in the AG, 156 of the 585 ministers of the 1916 Assemblies of God ministers had converted, including at least 77 of its own original 531 charter members.⁴⁹

Anderson suggests, though, that the "Oneness movement fell far short of early expectations, or fears, that it might sweep the bulk of Pentecostals into its fold."⁵⁰ Certainly, the political and theological fears of the Assemblies of God were assuaged, but

⁴⁸ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 117, 120.

⁴⁹ 1914 *Combined Minutes of the General Council of the AG*, 13-16; Reed, *In Jesus' Name*, 164; 14.3% of the AG charter members became Oneness, with the majority (7.9%) coming from two states, Texas (25) and Arkansas (17). Also, 26.7% of their ministers were expelled from the AG over the Oneness issue in 1916. "The list does not contain the names of a few who attended the Council and who withdrew from the Council Fellowship at its close," was the AG perspective, 1916 *Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*, 15.

⁵⁰ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 185.

the Oneness movement continued, nevertheless, unsanctioned, expanding worldwide to more than 250,000 by 1930.⁵¹

Anderson suspects additionally that Oneness Pentecostals may have been the ultra-poor of the Pentecostal disinherited, that is, in a “somewhat lower socio-economic status” than their Trinitarian counterparts. But, perhaps more on target, he recognizes that the “real *center* of their strength lay in the urban areas of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan,” another affirmation of the initial Midwest epicenter of the movement in Indianapolis.⁵²

Prior to the sweeping victories of the Oneness movement in attracting Black Finished Work ministers and churches, the AG had demonstrated its racial attitudes of exclusion, and Haywood knew this better than anyone in his unique position. The pre-Oneness interracial PAW existed by necessity as a competitive body to the ‘lily White’ newly organized AG ministerial body, which by 1917 was comprised of 42.9% southern ministers.⁵³ The ominous racial posture of these same White ministers, who had comprised what was known as the White Church of God in Christ, was predictive of the AG’s early intent regarding Black ministers.⁵⁴

In both their earlier rejection of Mason’s COGIC credentialing and their own unwillingness to credential Blacks, the AG racial attitudes became evident. Although increasing numbers of African Americans were part of the Finished Work constituency,

⁵¹ See, Chapter Seven.

⁵² Anderson, *Disinherited*, 187, 188; Anderson’s theory is based, rather weakly, upon its strong urbanization and on its “predisposition to more radical religion,” that is, being “more willing” to challenge Trinitarian theology. He suggests that 9 out of 10 Oneness churches were in the Midwest; cf., Daniel L. Butler, *Oneness Pentecostalism: A History of the Jesus’ Name Movement* (Los Angeles, CA: by the author, 2005), 77, noting similar early finished work concentrations.

⁵³ 1917 Combined Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, 27ff; western region, 15%, north, 15.5%, and east, 11.3%.

⁵⁴ Cf. Darrin J. Rodger, “The Assemblies of God and the Long Journey toward Racial Reconciliation,” *Heritage* vol. 28 (2008): 53.

the ‘Whites only’ invitation for the formation of the AG was exclusionary by design. Blacks would have to work out their own arrangements, either with COGIC, or by going it alone. Therefore, in the March 1914 *Word and Witness* Bell simply dismissed the interracial PAW out of hand, insisting the ministers “out there,” that is, White ministers, come join the Assemblies of God.⁵⁵ His concept of the PAW could not have been further from reality.

J. R. Flower, who allowed the furor of the earlier interracial Indianapolis revival to negatively impact his racial perspective, resisted, from the start, a racially open AG ministerial body. Flower’s periodical, *The Pentecost*, published from 1908-1910, originally in Indianapolis, did not include in its “Apostolic Faith Directory” of “all” missions, either Prentiss’ or Haywood’s church.⁵⁶ A 1913 ‘pre-AG’ “Pentecostal Assemblies” organization of Midwestern states was formed by Flower and D. W. Myland in Plainfield, Indiana. Though it unashamedly excluded Blacks, the report of its formation was heralded under the title: “Closer and Deeper Fellowship.”⁵⁷ Also, probably to detract, however inane, from its racial blatancy, Haywood was invited to minister as a keynote speaker.

With Flower playing a dominant role in its formation, Haywood was very much aware of the formidable interracial challenges facing Blacks in the AG. Although he possibly even attended Hot Springs, which would have been a clear indicator of his aspirations, he was later emphatic that he had never joined the AG. The need to be

⁵⁵ Faupel, *Everlasting Gospel*, 257, n. 127, 303, Anderson, *Introduction*, 47; Bell, “Bible Order,” *Word and Witness*, 3.

⁵⁶ Even Azusa, by 1909, was no longer listed, see, *The Pentecost*, January-February 1909, 10; Alexander, *Women of Azusa*, 65, quoting “Color line Obliterated,” *The (Portland) Morning Oregonian*, December 31, 1906, 9, notes the strong interracial aspect of Crawford’s work.

⁵⁷ Bundy, “Urban Realities,” 247; J. R. Flower, “A Closer and Deeper Fellowship,” *The Christian Evangel*, July 19, 1913, vol. 1, no. 1, 1, with the published minutes of the organizational meeting; Flower and Myland were regulars at Haywood’s, see, Boddy, “Indianapolis,” *Confidence*.

precise on that point may imply Haywood's determination to be remembered for personally resisting an option open to him, but not to the majority of Blacks, the option of being a lone, token AG African American in the midst of an anti-interracial body.

Unfortunately, even the unprecedented clout and influence of Haywood's renown could not, ultimately, serve to open doors for Blacks in the Assemblies of God.

Haywood, therefore, preferred standing on principle with the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and upholding the interracial ideal, a fact he would recall with gratifying certitude in the midst of the successful years of the interracial Oneness period, 1918 to 1924.⁵⁸

4.6 The Emergence of Oneness Pentecostalism in 1913

The PAW had settled its commitment to interracial ministry from its inception, but the new issue which shook it and the rest of the Pentecostal movement to its foundations was that of baptism in Jesus' Name and the Oneness of God. These dual doctrines central to Oneness Pentecostalism began to first emerge at a landmark Maria Woodworth-Etter camp meeting in the Arroyo Seco area, near Pasadena, California, April 1913. Organized by well-known businessman R. J. Scott, Arroyo Seco had been the site of Seymour's first camp meeting, as well, in 1907, only now Finished Work leaders did not so much as invite him to the platform when he attended.⁵⁹

Miracles, however, were reportedly in abundance. George B. Studd, for example, who "looked like a dead man" from "sciatic rheumatism," was healed instantly under the

⁵⁸ Bundy, "Urban Realities," 248; Anderson, *Introduction*, 53. Neither Haywood, nor any Black minister, is in the AG conference photo (cf. Mason); But the photo session included AG members only; Golder, *History*, 36; Reed, *In Jesus' Name*, 208.

⁵⁹ Borlase, *Seymour*, 223-224; Nelson, "For Such a Time," 254; Sanders, *Seymour*, 121; Alexandria, *Women of Azusa*, 174-175; Seymour's Arroyo Seco camp was in Hermon, California.

“gigantic” tent, with its “crude, unfinished, pine platform.”⁶⁰ “We believe,” Etter wrote, “it was the largest gathering of saints in the last days.”⁶¹

During the course of the Arroyo Seco camp meeting, the Jesus’ name controversy emerged for the first time as the result of a baptismal sermon preached in the “vast arena” by McAlister. The Apostolic formula, McAlister asserted, was “in the name of Jesus Christ,” rather than the titles of Mt 28:19, which were “never used in Christian baptism.” Though preachers were immediately stirred, notably John Schaepe, who roused the camp early the following day with his excitement over the message, Ewart, Haywood, McAlister, and others, committed themselves over the next several months to delve into the Scriptural meaning of baptism.⁶² A few accounts suggest that even during the camp some were rebaptized, either in “a nearby creek,” or somewhere on “the coast.”⁶³

As Ewart later recounted the significance of Arroyo Seco, the role of Etter was minimal compared to the more significant work of the Spirit, the powerful idea of a “new message” and “New Thing” which “struck fire” in their minds.⁶⁴ The interpretation of an Arroyo Seco “prophecy” given by China missionary Homer Faulkner, later published in Ewart’s *Meat in Due Season*, rang out with the Spirit’s endorsement of Acts 2:38

⁶⁰ Riss, *Revival Movements*, 88-89.

⁶¹ Maria Woodworth-Etter, *Sign and Wonders* (Indianapolis, IN: by the author, 1916), 172-175, 253, indicating Haywood was in attendance; Wayne Warner, “Maria Woodworth-Etter: Prophet of Equality,” in *Portraits of a Generation*, Goff and Wacker, eds., 212, Haywood’s attendance; Beginning in Harford City, Indiana, as early as 1885, Etter’s meetings were integrated; Warner, *Woodworth-Etter*, 155, 182, 186.

⁶² Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 76-77. Reports of the camp in *The Good Report* made no reference to the Jesus’ Name controversy, “Los Angeles Camp Meeting,” June 1, 1913, 1, and “Missionary Offering at Los Angeles,” August 1, 1913, 1, which noted the extended length of the camp and the \$4,140.44 in mission pledges.

⁶³ Robeck, *Azusa*, 318; Irwin Winehouse, *The Assemblies of God: A Popular Survey* (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1959), 44.

⁶⁴ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 76, 34; Warner, *Woodworth-Etter*, 186; Woodworth-Etter later called the Oneness issue “the biggest delusion the devil ever invented,” see, Warner, *Woodworth-Etter*, 196-197. Interestingly, Etter described her own special call, which she’d received in a vision, in these words: “To give the Household of Faith their Meat in Due Season....,” Etter, *Signs and Wonders*, 189-190, in Dayton, *Pentecostalism*, 28. For ‘revelation’ as restorationist zeal, see, Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 130.

baptism: “It is a *new thing* the Lord wants to do on the earth. Gather them in, and do not fail to preach the gospel the way Peter preached it.”⁶⁵ The flood of rebaptisms, coincident with the AG formation, began in April 1914, yet Arroyo Seco had emerged heretofore as the movement’s ‘shot heard round the world,’ and its pivotal ‘point of no return.’

4.6.1 Initial Acceptance and/or Rejection of Oneness Pentecostalism

At least as early as September 1913, articles in *The Good Report* evidenced an increasing, if rudimentary, shift toward the developing Oneness theology.⁶⁶ In November 1913 Frank Small began to baptize in Jesus’ Name, but not rebaptize, at the Winnipeg Convention. Within two months of the April 1914 eruption of the Jesus’ Name movement onto the Pentecostal scene Haywood preached for Small and later conducted a successful revival campaign for Ewart in Los Angeles in January and February, affording him ample opportunity to discuss the developing theology and express his misgivings.⁶⁷

Cook was the first to be rebaptized, April 15, 1914, followed by Ewart, in Belvidere, California. They anticipated, as well, the ‘revelation’ of Jesus’ Name baptism that then swept Pentecostalism in waves, and, in lieu of a Trinity, the exultation of Jesus as *The Mighty God* in the theology of the ‘Oneness of God.’ Cook, too, readily emphasized that ‘the Oneness’ was “A Revelation,” albeit, the Word of God “revealed,” or the expected response to “show us the Father.” The “veil was lifted,” Cook argued,

⁶⁵ “A Remarkable Prophecy,” *Meat in Due Season*, June 1915, vol. 1, no. 6, 4, italics added.

⁶⁶ *The Good Report* September 1913 issue several examples, including Frank Ewart, “The New Birth,” 2, Glenn A. Cook, “Standards of Justification,” 2, and Frank Ewart, “Compromise,” 3, anticipatory of approaching events: “the truth of God will prevail.” During these months Ewart and Fisher established “Full Gospel Mission” at Victoria Hall, 125 ½ South Spring Street. By this time Ewart and Cook, long time PAW members, had become disinterested in the finished work organizational plans of the AG, and, intentionally and competitively, launched their ‘rebaptism revival’ at exactly the same time as the founding of the AG.

⁶⁷ Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 60, 52. Haywood was the featured speaker at the Winnipeg Convention in mid-1914, “The Winnipeg Convention,” *The Good Report*, June 1, 1914, 2.

when Peter was Spirit-baptized. Therefore, Peter's words in Acts 2:38 were to be taken as imbued with hermeneutical priority, as it were.⁶⁸

Like many, in spite of sympathies with aspects of the theology and personal association with its leaders, Haywood was, evidently, unconvinced and initially rejected the theology. The Jesus' Name controversy, as a wildfire movement within the AG, did not truly shake the organization, and reach its apex, until the enormous threat posed by the rebaptism of both Haywood and Bell in the spring and summer of 1915. In fact, without giving the details, Ewart indicated that Haywood actually fought "the new message."⁶⁹ Haywood had expressed his concern over the claims made for 'revelation,' just months before Ewart's rebaptism, although it is unlikely that he was addressing future intentions regarding possible future campaigns of rebaptism.

They trusted in their experience rather than in the work of Christ on the cross of Calvary, and the word of the living God.... Moreover, some have become visionary and are being led by *revelations*, but this is leading into delusions that will work havoc in the ranks of the children of God except more heed is given to the word of God.⁷⁰

Paddock has suggested that Haywood, at first, thought that the Oneness message was "of the devil," until, as Ewart states, he was "convinced" otherwise. It is unclear, though, whether Ewart's depiction is suggesting that Haywood fought it with pen and voice, or merely in private discussion or perhaps only inwardly. Given his robust

⁶⁸ Glenn A. Cook, "A Revelation," *Meat in Due Season*, September 1915, vol. 1, no. 7, 3, italics added; cf., Rena H. Good, "Revival Fires," *The Herald of Light*, February 10, 1906, in Nelson, "For Such A Time," 247, exemplifying the common anticipation of "a new thing." John 14:8-9.

⁶⁹ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 53.

⁷⁰ G. T. Haywood, "The Word of God," *The Good Report*, November 1, 1913, vol. 1, no. 6, 3.

theological acumen, it would have been surprising if he had not launched a full scale attack against it, although no evidence has surfaced to suggest that he did so.⁷¹

4.6.2 Enigmatic History of Frazee's Rebaptism and Theology

The movement rapidly swept up the west coast, among especially non-AG PAW leaders, including Cook, Ewart, Morse, Farrow, Studd, and probably Frazee, then into the Midwest and South. Throughout 1915, much to the influence of Roberts and Haywood, Bartleman, Booth-Clibborn, Hall, Bell, Rodgers, Goss, Opperman, McAlister, and Small were all rebaptized, as well as LaFleur, Shearer, Fauss, and all the Louisiana contingency, following Floyd and Smith's lead.⁷² Somewhat surprisingly, though, no extant record mentions Frazee's embrace of the movement which, of course, would have been viewed as a most critical gain in the sense of the benefits of securing the support of the head of the PAW and drawing an entire organization into the movement. But the timeframe of Frazee's rebaptism has not been adequately determined.

In one of the few bits of data about Frazee's theology, in a letter to Sherman, the PAW minister who became the focus of the FBI investigation, Frazee requests that Sherman send to him ministerial reports regarding those "saved and baptized according to Acts 2:38."⁷³ In 1918 he led in the 'Oneness' merger of the PAW and the GAAA. It is, therefore, logical to assume, since the PAW moved into the Oneness camp early and

⁷¹ Paddock, *Apostolic Heritage*, 40-41; The theological hurdle of actually rejecting the historic claims of Christianity regarding the Trinity, as well as the resultant fear of personal rejection, would surely have caused Haywood pause; cf., for example, Owens' rebuff of the Oneness position: "It is not possible to deny the Trinity and still remain within the portion of Christianity which can theologically trace its roots to the true Apostolic Church of the Bible," Robert R. Owens, *The Azusa Street Revival: Its Roots and Its Message* (Longview, FL: Xulon Press, 2005; originally, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), 108.

⁷² *Meat in Due Season*, June 1915, vol. 1, no. 6, Glenn A. Cook, "An Eastern Trip," 2, and Harry Morse, "Our Trip Down the Coast," 2; *Meat in Due Season*, December 1915, vol. 1, no. 9, 1-4. See, Floyd Interview, 47-53, placing Goss' acceptance of the Oneness late in 1915; cf., Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 61, 56.

⁷³ "Frazee Letter to Sherman," October 1917, FBI File#55234, 92.

quickly, that Frazee, as its top leadership, endorsed the message early on, as well, and probably as the message swept up the west coast into Oregon in early 1915.

This absence of extant information regarding Frazee's theological endorsement, testimony, and role in the movement is rather enigmatic. In a detailed Ewart report in *Meat in Due Season* about the revival sweeping Portland in 1915, Frazee is not mentioned, indicating he may not have been, as yet, rebaptized. Undoubtedly, the rebaptism of the leader of the PAW would, indeed, have been exciting and welcome news. From another perspective, Frazee's commitment to the movement was not bolstered by a clamoring 'Oneness majority' in the PAW, for the majority remained Trinitarian. Yet, in spite of the odds, Frazee pressed for the 'Oneness' merger and the advancement of the movement's distinctive theological voice.⁷⁴

Assemblies of God efforts during most of 1916 were focused upon eradicating the Oneness element. But from the Oneness perspective, the AG became a priority target, for not only were AG ministers embracing the Oneness faster than in the PAW, but there were actually slightly more Oneness ministers connected with the AG, than the PAW. These odds made victory for the Oneness cause more likely with the AG, setting aside, temporarily, concerns regarding African American limitations, as Haywood seems to have done, in hopes of affecting one change and one victory at a time.

4.7 The Impact of G. T. Haywood's Rebaptism

With the momentum of rebaptisms building in California, Cook left for a tour of the Midwest, his home region, in January 1915, and several were rebaptized in St. Louis, including Mother Moise, whose home Bell had been using as a temporary headquarters for the new Assemblies of God.⁷⁵ In Indianapolis by late February, Cook reported:

⁷⁴ *Meat in Due Season*, September 1915, vol. 1, no. 7, 1.

⁷⁵ J. L. Hall, "The 'New Issue'—Oneness Pentecostalism," *The Pentecostal Herald*, February 1995, 14, 15; Having traveled to Moise's again in May, Cook met with

“Practically all the saints in the city came together and such a spirit of unity had not been known since the first outpouring of the Spirit.”⁷⁶

Flower, with his own Indianapolis roots, although complicit in denying access to Blacks in the AG, nevertheless, felt compelled to send a word of warning to Haywood of Cook’s intent. But it was received too late. Ewart, in *The Phenomenon of Pentecost*, noted that “Elder G. T. Haywood, after fighting the new message, was convinced and opened his large mission to evangelist Glenn A. Cook.”⁷⁷

Meat in Due Season, the context of Ewart’s statement above, no doubt, had been influential in persuading the resistant and reluctant Haywood. Haywood clearly respected Glenn Cook’s role in bringing Pentecost to Indianapolis, and attended his meetings at Roberts’ Oak Hill Tabernacle on Roosevelt Avenue, ten blocks north and due east four miles of his own assembly. As an added incentive, Haywood believed that God had already been dealing with him, although, perhaps, he was holding out for a clear confirmation. As Golder has noted, at some point in his search, “while he was riding the streetcar one day, the voice of God spoke to him and said, ‘Walk in the light, lest a greater darkness come upon you’.”⁷⁸

According to Homer White, Robert’s assistant who became a close ministerial friend of Haywood’s, and who was the second person to be baptized by Cook, March 6, 1915, Haywood did not respond immediately, but waited “several days” after this before requesting to be baptized. Once he believed he had heard from God, and submitted to baptism, White says that it absolutely “electrified the saints of God.”⁷⁹ Other reports

Bell and Flower, with Cook noting “that Bell’s response indicated a recognition of the truth,” 16.

⁷⁶ Glenn A. Cook, “An Eastern Trip,” *Meat in Due Season*, June 1915, 2.

⁷⁷ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 53-54, 56; Homer White, Roberts’ assistant, was the 2nd baptized, Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 47.

⁷⁸ Morris E. Golder, from the “Foreword” in Garrett, *Ahead of His Times*, 18.

⁷⁹ Wallace, *Profiles*, 373.

emphasize the major role that Cook played, in that he was “mightily used of the Lord” to convince both Roberts and Haywood that the message carried divine urgency, and was, indeed, of God. Once they were convinced, so were nearly all the members of their assemblies.

Even with the time lapse between these numerous baptisms, three amazing photos are extant, one of Robert’s church and two of Haywood’s, which testify to their presence of mind to recognize the value of preserving the historic moment for posterity. The first is a well-known photograph of Cook as he baptized Roberts in Eagle Creek, with about 100 White church members, on March 6, 1915. Roberts was the ‘first person’ baptized in Jesus’ Name east of the Mississippi.

Haywood’s church baptisms were divided by race, most likely to avert the threat of public reprisals. This section of Fall Creek runs through a portion of downtown Indianapolis. In the first, Haywood, and a minister who appears to be Hancock, were baptizing in Fall Creek, with about 150 Black church members along the shore. In the second, it appears to be Cook who baptized Haywood’s White members in Fall Creek, with 75 White members and 20 on-lookers. Hilda Reeder, who was also in attendance at Oak Hill when Haywood was finally baptized by Cook, along with other Haywood leaders, including herself, affirms that the majority of Haywood’s members were rebaptized on Easter, which would have been April 4, 1915.⁸⁰

“During the meeting,” Cook reported ecstatically, a few weeks later, “465 were baptized by Bro. Roberts, Bro. Haywood and the writer, and since then about 100 more have been baptized in this way.”⁸¹ This account is consistent with Robert’s immediate acceptance, Haywood’s delay, and the hundreds of rebaptized saints which followed. By

⁸⁰ *Historical News*, April-June 1991, vol. 10, no. 3, 4; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 212.

⁸¹ Cook, “Eastern Trip,” *Meat in Due Season*, 2.

summer's end Roberts could add to the June report that "as many as seventy-one people were seeking the Lord at one time" in the spring meeting and that up through August 1915 "we have baptized 833."⁸² This total, of course, was all inclusive. But, clearly, the 'lion's share' of these were from Haywood's growing assembly.

These events, along with the news of Bell's rebaptism later that summer, sent reverberations throughout the Assemblies of God. At Azusa Street Haywood's recent defection to Jesus' Name ranks seemed to be fresh on Seymour's mind, with several of the mission members, reportedly, following Haywood into the Oneness movement.⁸³ Seymour's 1915 handbook, *The Doctrines and Discipline*, included this statement under "Sound Doctrine:" "We don't believe in being baptized in the name of Jesus only." Evidently, Haywood's rejection of both second work sanctification and the Trinity, especially by an African American, were felt keenly by Seymour.

We want all of our White brethren and White sisters to feel free in our churches and Missions, in spite of all the trouble we have had with some of our White brethren in causing diversion, and spreading wild fire and fanaticism. Some of our colored brethren caught the disease of this spirit of division also.⁸⁴

This is not to say that Seymour and Haywood did not maintain their friendship, for later, according to Tinney, Seymour was a welcome guest in the Haywood home.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, as the Azusa Street mission closed its chapter on the continued hope of

⁸² S. N. Hancock and T. C. Davis were also baptized, see, Glenn A. Cook, "The Truth About E. N. Bell," *Herald of Truth*, August 1947, 3. L. V. Roberts, "Pentecostal Campaign at Indianapolis, Ind.," *Meat in Due Season*, September 1915, vol. 1, no. 7, 4; This report, of 268 additional baptisms, is published next to that of Bell's July rebaptism in Tennessee.

⁸³ Sanders, *Seymour*, 121; Sanders suggests, as a "Final Blow," that the majority of Seymour's members abandoned Azusa to embrace the Oneness message, 119.

⁸⁴ *The Doctrines and Discipline*, as excerpted in Jacobsen, *Reader in Pentecostal Theology*, 53. The news of Haywood's rebaptism was rapidly spreading during most of the mid to latter part of 1915. Haywood eulogized Seymour in *The Voice in the Wilderness* at the time of his passing, "Death of W. J. Seymour," vol. 2, no. 13, 7, "he was loved and respected," in Martin, *Seymour*, 330-331.

⁸⁵ Tinney, "Significance of Race," 60, n. 19, based on an interview with Franklin Showell, Baltimore, MD, November 11, 1978.

interracial Pentecostalism, Haywood stepped into a movement, as of yet, very optimistic of racial aspirations, reminiscent of the ideal of 'Pentecost,' even as it had been before doors of racial justice had slammed shut in the AG.

In addition, a year later, immediately after the 1916 AG expulsion of Oneness ministers, Haywood and Lawson were invited by Mason to speak with COGIC ministers regarding the Jesus' Name message, but, evidently, to no avail, although people were "present from all over the South." Several years later, in fact, Haywood would be able to report that Mason had been rebaptized. But, at this point, there was little news, except to write: "It was not our purpose to argue."⁸⁶

Mason made it very clear, later, that he was not impressed with what he called the "One in the Godhead People." He specifically referred to Lawson's comments made at the COGIC conference in St. Louis, which was probably the same setting as the meeting Haywood mentions. Mason strongly objected to an assertion of Lawson that Jesus was, supposedly, "no longer the Son of God." "He is not the Father of God but the Son of God," he said publicly, "nor is he his own father, for no son has ever begotten himself."⁸⁷

4.8 The AG Expulsion of Its Oneness Ministers

In the battle for the Assemblies of the God the 'final straw' for the AG majority was the rebaptism of their own chairman E. N. Bell in Jackson, Tennessee on July 1915, scarcely two months after the news of Haywood's defection.⁸⁸ Though Bell had a complete change of heart soon afterward, recanting his actions, it was clearly the final straw, setting in motion the events which led to the Oneness expulsion in October 1916,

⁸⁶ "Memphis, Tenn.," *The Voice in the Wilderness*, no. 19, November 1916, 1.

⁸⁷ See, C. H. Mason, "The Sonship of Jesus," in Jacobsen, *Reader in Pentecostal Theology*, 219, 221, 218

⁸⁸ See, Appendix E: "High Profile Rejection and Defection Impacting Early Oneness Pentecostalism"; also, L. V. Roberts, "Bro. E. N. Bell Is Baptized," *Meat in Due Season*, September 1915, vol. 1, no. 7, 4. For a discussion regarding Bell, see, also, Reed, "Controversy and Rejection," *In Jesus' Name*, Chapter 7, 147-166.

the drastic measures which nullified the 1915 St. Louis AG agreement which allowed the use of either baptismal formula. The proverbial handwriting was on the wall and a strongly worded Trinitarian “Statement of Fundamental Truths” was passed in 1916, the intent of which was to expel the Oneness faction from the AG once and for all.⁸⁹

The additional AG resistance to the PAW’s renewed interracial structure, particularly stigmatized by society, only reinforced its ability to relegate the Oneness segment of its founding ministers to a status “without the camp” by the ‘victorious,’ orthodox Pentecostal majority. In *Race and the Assemblies of God Church* Joe Newman has astutely noted that within the Pentecostal movement the rise of the AG with its exclusion of Black ministers also clearly “signaled the demise of racial integration.”⁹⁰ It can, of course, only be conjectured whether or not Haywood had originally hoped to somehow reverse this unfortunate arrangement in his AG involvement. But, with the 1916 Assemblies of God Council rejection of the Jesus’ Name ministers, Haywood could not have felt the AG betrayal of his ‘Pentecostal’ call more keenly.

The 1916 anti-Oneness Council meeting at one point shifted the hostility directly toward the one prominent Black attendee, Haywood himself, launched by an old friend, Findley, Ohio pastor T. K. Leonard. Homer White, a strong Oneness advocate present at the time, had received Spirit baptism at Leonard’s conference in 1912 at which Haywood was the featured speaker.⁹¹ But, T. K. Leonard, one of the main architects of the anti-

⁸⁹ Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 132-133; Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, October 1-10, 1915, 5, with use of the expression “full liberty.” *Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*, October 1-7, 1916, 10. The compromise allowing either formula followed the 1915 presentation at the Council of Haywood and Bell.

⁹⁰ Joe Newman, *Race and the Assemblies of God Church* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2007), 9, also noting that the Church of God (Cleveland, TN), while allowing a “black fellowship,” demanded that its overseer “always be a White man,” 63.

⁹¹ Wallace, “Homer White,” *Profiles*, vol. 2, 372,

Oneness Fundamental Truths, attacked the doctrine by chiding the Oneness proponents and calling the doctrine “*hay, wood, and stubble.*”

At one point, T. K. Leonard *facetiously* referred to the ‘Oneness’ doctrine of G. T. Haywood and his colleagues as ‘hay, wood and stubble,’ with the further remark, ‘they are all in the wilderness and they have a voice in the wilderness,’ (referring to the periodical published by Brother Haywood entitled a *Voice in the Wilderness*). Haywood turned pale and started to rise to his feet, but was pulled back into his chair by those sitting near him.... Gilbert Sweaza, red-faced and indignant, stomped out the door. Voices from both sides were raised in protest, and it was some minutes before things quieted down....⁹²

Many interpreted the incident as awkwardly intended to ridicule Oneness acceptance of Black leadership, or even to demean the theology on the basis of Black origins. But even if it only hinted of an insertion of race into the debate, it clearly stunned both sides of the aisle, although the implications were imbedded in the minds of Oneness participants for years to come, guaranteeing the solidification of resolve against a repeat incident within their own ranks. Haywood used the Old Testament symbol of remaining “outside the camp” in speaking of the AG expulsion as an intentional reference to the reality of his double expulsion—not merely as a Oneness minister, but also as an African American.

From the perspective of AG historian Carl Brumback, the incident was characterized as merely “spirited” or “humorous,” whereas Oneness Pentecostal reaction has usually considered it a reflection of the AG racial attitude which the Oneness movement was in the process countering. Apparently, Leonard’s intent was a word play for levity’s sake, which struck a humorous chord in the minds of the White AG ministers when employed as a clever put down of Haywood *himself*. What made it work was the linking of Haywood’s name with the faulty, and foolish, foundation described in 1 Corinthians 3:12. Nevertheless, what should not be overlooked in the incident is that

⁹² Carl Brumback, *Like A River: Early Years of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1977), 58; italics added.

Haywood was viewed as one of the movement's most significant, defining persona.

Brumback himself refers to the Oneness position as "the Oneness doctrine of *G. T.*

Haywood and his colleagues."⁹³

By 1917 the PAW had 142 Oneness ministers. Only a few of the PAW ministers were also part of the group which formed the General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies in the Eureka Springs, Arkansas, January 1917, with 154 ministers.⁹⁴ The decision to form the GAAA, prior to its January 1918 merger with the PAW detailed in the following chapter, was not an attempt to 'go-it-alone,' but rather an effort to avoid a 'repeat' majority opposition situation.

As exiting AG ministers, all of its members were White ministers, and many of its southern ministers, such as Fauss, were evidently not even yet familiar with the west coast centered PAW. Opperman hosted a Bible Conference for the fledgling organization early in 1917 in Eureka Springs, Arkansas. The group was limited by the regulations during the war regarding religious organizations and ministerial exemption.⁹⁵

4.9 The Ministerial Composition of the Transitional PAW (1917)

The seriousness of the wartime registration for religious organizations may have been sufficient motivation to spur the PAW into producing adequate and representative

⁹³ Brumback, *Like A River*, 58; italics added for emphasis.

⁹⁴ Ministers in both, the PAW & GAAA, included Booth-Clibborn, Hall, Ewart, Craine, and Schaepe. Cf., Clanton, *United We Stand – Jubilee Edition*, 27-30. The Assemblies of God reported the formation of the new GAAA, see, "New Pentecostal Organization," *The Weekly Evangel*, January 20, 1917, 15. "The new organization has no written statement of truths which it approves, but is practically unanimous in its stand against the General Council's position on the Trinity, holding that there is only one person in the Godhead and that person is Lord Jesus Christ. We shall watch with interest the development of this new effort at organization."

⁹⁵ Fauss, *What God Hath Wrought*, 202, "...we became acquainted with an organization" known as the PAW in Portland. Fauss was licensed with the GAAA April 10, 1917, 56; see, also, Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 182. Treece, *Beulah*, 176, 172-173. A photo of the Bible Conference shows about 140 ministers, all White, in attendance, including speakers John Dearing and Frank Muse from Idaho, and Jerry Osborn from Texas.

articles of faith, a record of minutes and ministerial rosters. Indeed, several factors point to the probability that the records of the 1917 *Minute Book and Ministerial Record of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World* were prepared with the FBI in mind.⁹⁶ The PAW in 1917 was being investigated by the Bureau of Investigation due to its pacifism and stance on war.⁹⁷

4.9.1 Inconclusive Evidence Regarding Early PAW Documents

The PAW, which the FBI found to be “very loose” in its system of “organization,” issued credentials to Sherman in 1915, with a notation indicating that his name was “on Page 98” of the “Minute Book.” Such a notation, similar to the 1919 PAW *Minute Book*, indicates that a total list of names was kept in a separate, single ledger, or handwritten roster, but it does not refer to a typical published minute book.⁹⁸

It is possible that the “Brief Record of Minutes,” which Frazee attached to the 1917 minutes, is an indicator that earlier minutes were, in fact, not published, and that only rosters were kept. These minutes are summarizations of past minutes, but written in

⁹⁶ A primary consideration, of course, would have been their PAW published records. Although earlier records are not extant, the 1914 charter of the PAW would have surely necessitated a minute book and ministerial roster, even if these had not been produced earlier. But, curiously, even the “Brief Minutes,” included, or perhaps first added, in 1917 do not include copies of, or refer to 1914 charter minutes. Therefore, one must conjecture as to whether the Articles of Faith date back to 1914 or even before. The summary minutes do not indicate when any of these 1917 ‘articles’ were adopted or how. Highlighting an earlier lack of attention to official records, Haywood, in a letter to Frazee, January 22, 1917, discloses that the PAW had no “official letter heads,” FBI File#55234, 14, 8; cf., also, a random letter to Frazee, but utilized in the FBI report, requesting “your minute books,” 13.

⁹⁷ See, Appendix D: “Pacifism and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.”

⁹⁸ FBI File #55324, 92, 21; Even the 1917 PAW *Minute Book* has a meager 19 pages. The 1919 PAW *Minute Book*, at each letter of the alphabetical listings of ministers, notes the page on which those minister’s names appear in a separate “Minute Book,” which uses a 10-page section for names for each letter of the alphabet. Also, the obvious need to include summary minutes dating back to 1907 indicates the intention of providing proof of the PAW’s longevity and method of business. One would have anticipated that Frazee would have submitted their Articles of Incorporation as part of the substantiating evidence offered to the FBI, but they are not among the FBI file documents.

1917, as evidenced, for example, in Frazee's reference to being "of Portland," though speaking about 1908. This would have been an anachronism, indeed, since the census places him in Los Angeles, if he were not speaking retrospectively. This is even clearer in Frazee's use of the past tense: "The purpose and desires *were and are still* that the Pentecostal Assemblies might be governed by the Word of God."⁹⁹

On the one hand, the roster shows evidence of having been rushed in production, with, for example, a substantial number of names having no address and/or no designated city (69%), misspelled names, and a complete lack of alphabetized sequence, quite unlike later issues. Yet the ministerial roster had been kept current enough to result in the removal of Pendleton from the list, the former chairman and a minister dating back to 1907, but who had passed away January 1917.¹⁰⁰

Since the PAW had not met since 1912, urgency may also be suggested by the January 1917 Portland meeting, at which not even the secretary, John Mautz, was present, and Portland-only "elders" were in attendance. Yet, according to *Meat in Due Season*, just a few weeks later, another, far more representative "convention" was "held at St. Louis."¹⁰¹

4.9.2 The 1917 PAW Trinitarian Majority

Before attempting to sort the issues related to the uniting of the Oneness ministers from the PAW with those of the GAAA, as in the following chapter, a review of adequate

⁹⁹ FBI File#55234, 34-35, 33. Frazee is fully cognizant of the fact that he is presenting the past minutes from the present perspective, and that those inspecting them recognize the fact. The assumption, too, is that Frazee compiled the "Brief Minutes."

¹⁰⁰ Percentages are based on 548 ministers. (Of the 548 original names, projected percentages can be estimated for the missing 50 names from page eighteen.) The 1919 rosters, with 361 of 704 (51%) addresses missing, noticeably perfected spelling and alphabetization.

¹⁰¹ FBI File#55234, "Brief Minutes," 34; "To the Jew First," *Meat in Due Season*, March 1917, 1. An early 1917 date and St. Louis location may have intentionally fostered contact with leadership of the recently organized GAAA. The "elder" H. L. Britton, interestingly, was an African American and a women minister, see, *Scism, Northwest Passage*, 43-44.

terms is in order. Although the leadership of the PAW was ‘all-Oneness’ by 1918, its ministerial constituency was far from so. Therefore, it was, precisely, still ‘pre-Oneness’ or a pre-Oneness majority. Although the Oneness issue had been raging for four years, it remained a minority in the PAW. On the other hand, though commonly the term ‘Oneness’ is applied to post-1914 events, it is not applicable to the PAW until 1918. Although not commonly known, the PAW remained predominantly Trinitarian until then. Prior to 1918, therefore, the better term is ‘pre-merger’ PAW.

The earliest extant PAW documents now available are the 1917 FBI files, including the *1917 PAW Minute Book*. An analysis of these rosters reveals some rather unexpected dimensions to the unfolding relational and theological alignments within the movement, reflected in the ministerial constituencies of the ‘transitional’ Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. A portion of the constituencies certainly predate the Oneness debate altogether, but the entire list represents the ‘transitional’ make-up of the PAW prior to its merger with the GAAA and the resultant ‘all-Oneness’ which formed in 1918.

Even this ‘transitional’ PAW experienced considerable growth, and not in spite of, but, perhaps, owing to its rare diversity of Holiness, Finished Work, and Oneness preachers, all of which were uniquely at home in the PAW in the years from 1911 to 1917. The transitional Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, at the height of the theological controversy, nevertheless, grew to within 11% of the size the AG by 1917, with 548 PAW ministers compared to 693 AG ministers.¹⁰²

This transitional roster of ministers, which evidences its strong original ties to Azusa, was also comprised of a fairly widely distributed network of ministers across the

¹⁰² FBI File #55324, 28ff, *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 8-19; *Combined Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*, 1917, “List of Ordained Ministers,” 27. The 1917 AG rosters were depleted of the expelled Oneness ministers in October 1916, but the exiting group does not inflate the PAW statistics due to the fact that none of them had yet merged with the PAW.

U.S., 176 of which or almost one third (32%) were female ministers. This is in sharp contrast to COGIC, for example, which did not have women ministers or pastors. Also, the vast majority of these PAW ministers remained Trinitarian ‘through it all,’ even into the first half of 1917, and, thus, continued ‘hanging in there’ up to the January 1918 merger. On the other hand, the PAW leadership, rather than its membership, by this time, in rather inordinately unique circumstances, had become predominantly Oneness. Of the nineteen field superintendents in 1917, only W. H. Aston, W. R. Farris, and H. M. Turney had not become strong Oneness advocates.¹⁰³

Rather astonishingly, only 98 (18%) of the original ministers ‘went the distance’ and joined the merged PAW in 1918, although 31% (190 ministers) had become Oneness.¹⁰⁴ The remainder of ministers, the 69% which had not even converted to the Oneness position, bowed out, yielding the PAW to an array of Oneness advocates now ready for an organizational home.

A nuanced understanding of the PAW after 1918, an important goal of the following chapter, requires comparative analysis of the 1917 and 1919 rosters. But the geographical distribution and concentration of ministers in 1917 reveal a clear western regional predominance, sharply contrasting the southern dominance of the all-White GAAA. California was, by far, the largest state, having more than a third of the total ministers, with 187 (38%), and Oregon, Frazee’s adopted state, although second, having only 44 (9%).

¹⁰³ FBI File#55234, 29.

¹⁰⁴ Statistics are derived from a comparison of the rosters of the *1917 PAW Minute Book* and the *1919 PAW Minute Book*. The unavailability of 1918 rosters is an indication that none were published until 1919. Nearly three times as many Oneness ministers joined the 1919 PAW than comprised both the GAAA and the ‘Oneness’ faction of the PAW in 1917. Nearly thirty of the PAW Indianapolis ministers were part of Haywood’s ministry and became Oneness.

The western region, therefore, with ministers in seven states, had 281, or 56%, of the total ministers of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. But, Indiana, due to the influence of Haywood and Roberts, was the third largest state with 34 ministers, followed by Texas with 25 and Washington with 23.¹⁰⁵ The other three regions were considerably smaller, especially the eastern region, with only 10 ministers (2%). The northern region, which included Indianapolis, had 92 ministers (19%), and the southern region had 64 (13%).¹⁰⁶

While it may not be possible to determine with any precision the number of African Americans within the pre-merger PAW, several of the ministers were Black, representing both the holiness, Azusa Street-related faction, as well as the Finished Work/Oneness faction. Clearly, though, the pre-merger PAW was predominantly White. The veracity of Anderson's conclusion that the PAW, from at least 1913, if not earlier, was "a fully integrated fellowship at every level," and "especially so after 1917," is at least partially substantiated by the interracial intent and arrangement of its polity.¹⁰⁷ Although neither of the top PAW officials were African American, two of the fourteen officers, or superintendents, were Black, G. T. Haywood and R. C. Lawson.

¹⁰⁵ Calculations are based on the 498 ministers with known locales. 64 (13%) of these were outside the continental United States, including 25 in Canada and 23 missionaries, leaving 434 from which to compute actual 'regional' strength in the U.S. On this basis, California's 187 ministers were 43% of the ministers in the continental U.S. Using the overall totals, missionaries comprised 5% and Canadians 5%. Only seven of eleven western states, within areas considered 'northwest' or 'west,' had PAW churches, CA, WA, OR, ID, MT, AZ, and CO.

¹⁰⁶ Ministerial Distribution of the PAW: West – WA(23), OR(44), ID(10), MT(4), CA(187), NV(0), WY(0), UT(0), AZ(8), CO(5), NM(0); North – MN(15), MI(15), OH(13), ND(15), SD(0), NE(0), IA(0), IN(34), IL(9), WI(0); South – MO(2), OK(13), TX(25), AR(11), MS(1), TN(0), KY(5), AL(0), LA(0), GA(0), WV(2), NC(4), SC(1), FL(0); East – NY(2), NJ(0), PA(5), MD(3), MV(0), Me(0), DE(0), CT(0), VT(0), NH(0), RI(0), MA(0); Also, Unknown locales – 13; HA – 0; AK – 3.

¹⁰⁷ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 191; FBI File#55234, 19; A minimum, though, of 5-6% of the ministers were African American.

4.10 Conclusion

The Frazee era of the PAW, defined as being initiated at the time of his 1912 assumption of leadership, especially the nature of the composition of the transitional PAW's pre-Oneness ministerial rosters in 1917, reveal significant insights into the early development of Oneness Pentecostalism. Although previously thought to have had merely informal involvement in the earliest history of the PAW, Haywood is demonstrated to have been a truly major participant from the beginning of his association with the interracial ministerial body.

The dramatic transition from Holiness to Finished Work theology, followed immediately by the transition from Trinitarian to Oneness theology, was the defining element of this era. The transitioning took its toll on the entire movement and on the leadership, so much so that Frazee exited the movement entirely, and only a short while after large majorities were abandoning the newly organized Oneness PAW. Perhaps many saw the inevitable flood of new incoming Oneness ministers and preferred not to resist or fetter the structure for which the Oneness minority had labored so untiringly. But when the dust was cleared, the Oneness PAW was stronger than ever and a viable Pentecostal alternative to the multiplicity of existing Trinitarian organizations.

The transitional nature of this era was further exacerbated as well by the war time pressure which accompanied the pacifist stance of the PAW. At precisely the critical time that the organizational leadership was attempting to draw the entire ministerial body to the Oneness position and amalgamate the influx of new Oneness ministers, the PAW was facing the tension of a thorough FBI probe of their military exemption status.

Therefore, the later period, 1914 to 1918, was fraught with transition, but so had been the earlier segment of the era, 1912-1913, with the transition to the Finished Work position. But to these dramatic transitional events must also be added the actual initial

origins of the Oneness movement beginning in Arroyo Seco, California in 1913, as well as the formation of, and Oneness battle for, the Assemblies of God. Indeed, by the close of 1918 the resultant landscape of early American Pentecostalism had radically altered and an entirely new terrain lay ahead for a reorganizing Oneness Pentecostalism.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Doak-Haywood Interracial Era in Oneness Pentecostalism (1918-1924)

5.1 The Oneness Merger of the PAW and the GAAA

Oneness Pentecostal expansion by 1918, in spite of significant set backs and its ultimate rejection and exclusion from the Pentecostal mainstream, far exceeded the pre-merger Oneness ministerial constituencies of either the PAW or the GAAA. A startling low number of only 89 of the pre-merger 1917 PAW ministers remained with the PAW after the merger, joined as they were by about 154 GAAA ministers. The post-merger PAW roster in 1919 of 704 ministers, therefore, shows a 65% ministerial increase above and beyond the 243 who had joined from the PAW/GAAA. The merger officially initiated the E. W. Doak era of the PAW (1918-1924), although the fully interracial leadership era did not begin until Haywood's election as Secretary early in 1919.

Up until this time the rather dormant PAW Trinitarian majority, which had patiently awaited the outcome of the battle for the Assemblies of God, as well as for a verdict on the implications of a 'Oneness' PAW, finally abandoned ship in 1918, as did a number of notable defectors from the Jesus' Name ranks. Even Frazee himself, amidst exceedingly enigmatic circumstances, withdrew sometime in 1918.

Perhaps the most significant shift in the history of Oneness Pentecostalism, which was occurring as a parallel historic reality, was that of the PAW's recommitment to the essentials necessary for achieving a viable interracial movement, but which now incorporated *both* interracial worship and interracial leadership and structure. Most importantly, this critical dynamic in interracial commitment was implemented by the broad base of Oneness supporters now ready to embrace the PAW, from segments of the emerging movement outside the initial parameters of either the PAW or the GAAA. As a

result the 1918 restructuring of leadership in the PAW following the Frazee withdrawal coincided with the advance of the interracial hopes which fuelled organizational amalgamation intent upon forging an entity, as they viewed it, more closely patterned after ‘Pentecost.’

5.1.1 Theological and Racial Aspects of the New-Merged PAW

The PAW resisted the trends of social acceptance in its inauguration of an unprecedented grand racial ‘experiment’ of an actual integrated leadership. Previously, less ambitious aspirations had failed, first at Azusa Street and later with the 1913-1914 withdrawal of Whites from COGIC to form the AG. But Oneness participants had been cognizant of these failures, reducing the likelihood that renewed interracial efforts within the PAW were merely naive. The new Pentecostal Assemblies of the World had promoted interracial membership from its inception, but now was exerting considerable effort as a Oneness body to make meaningful integration work.

Although rightly characterized in Blumhofer’s historical AG account as Oneness “revelations” which “would deeply and permanently divide Pentecostals,” separation from the AG, interestingly, had not been the Oneness intent.¹ But AG leadership preferred to permanently divide rather than risk further Oneness inroads and annoyances, against which ecclesial expulsion the Oneness leaders, charter members, and ministers were no match. On the other hand, paradoxically, the Oneness restorative impetus served to unite people of color, rather than divide, as a divine directive to restore, or return to, what they perceived as the basics of the New Testament Pentecost.

Blumhofer also suggests that, “in a very real sense, those who accepted the revelations and consequent new teaching were *more thoroughly* Pentecostal than those

¹ Edith L. Blumhofer, “Pentecostal Assemblies of the World,” *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, ed., Daniel G. Reid, Robert D. Linder, Bruce L. Shelley, Harry S. Stout (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 884.

who did not.”² And, perhaps, it is nowhere more applicable than here, in that their concept of revelation evidently informed more than mere theological discourse. Undoubtedly, it is the interracial context which best highlights the restorationist impulse which was more thoroughly at work in the Oneness movement, if Blumhofer is correct, than in almost any of its counterparts.

Many of the expelled AG Oneness ministers formed the “General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies” in January 1917, continuing a common preference for the word “Assemblies” as a name. But because the United States was about to enter the war, the ex-AG ministers comprising the GAAA were hindered from the start in that newly formed religious bodies were forbidden by law from obtaining government ministerial exemption. As the U.S. entry into the war in April the GAAA was eager for a solution.

Even the AG’s *Weekly Evangel*, in commenting on the newly organized GAAA, noted that the group had “no written statement of truths” which expressed their new distinguishing beliefs. Even Clanton, who thought it “strange” that they did not have clarifying articles of faith, nevertheless, accurately concludes that the GAAA obviously believed the very truths for which they had just been willing to suffer expulsion and loss of affiliation with the very ministerial body which they themselves had founded. The group did formulate what they must have considered adequate, though brief, governing articles.

Therefore, the simplicity of the GAAA theological statements is perhaps best explained by their repulsion to a creedal mentality, the exhibition of which they had recently and vividly witnessed and against which they had so vehemently protested. The GAAA “Articles of Faith” make specific mention of the key Oneness theological dispute, “one way of entrance” by “a baptism of water and Spirit.” The Biblical passages which

² Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God*, vol. 1, 15, 237-238.

the GAAA expounded in their eighteen statements of governing faith were, evidently, deemed adequate.³

The Arkansas based GAAA was led by Opperman during the brief period in which it functioned. It did, though, merge within a year of its formation with the PAW. Ministers from several states were members, but it had been formed predominantly by southern region White ministers who were dependent on the Oneness movement's early expansion throughout Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma, as well as the spreading revival in Texas and Louisiana.

David Floyd's popular periodical, *The Blessed Truth*, had considerable influence in the region. A decade earlier Parham's ministry had exerted a strong influence on the GAAA leadership, Opperman, Floyd, and Goss, the treasurer and credential signee, as it had on many of its earliest ministers. But the Parham influence notwithstanding, balancing a 'willing' and cooperative GAAA with the strong Midwestern and California influence of the PAW was crucial to a union which would allow, at least initially, for the adequate arrangement necessary for a meaningful interracial effort.

D. C. O. Opperman (1872-1926) was not only a noted preacher but a respected educator, as well, having studied at a Dunkard college in Mt. Morris, Illinois, Moody, and Illinois State Normal School. He taught at Dowie's school in Zion, Illinois for some time. Having opened his own school in Eureka Springs in 1915, the Assemblies of God became its initial sponsor by 1916. It eventually became known as the "Pentecostal Literary and Training School," and it could boast of 60 fulltime students and staff by 1917. With

³ "New Pentecostal Organization," *The Weekly Evangel*, January 20, 1917, 15; Clanton, *United We Stand*, 28-29, 30, with Clanton access to a rare copy of the *1917 Minute Book and Ministerial Record of the General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies* from John Opperman, D. C. O. Opperman's son; See, also, "Floyd Interview," 67, 69; cf. Tyson, *Chalices*, 165, with a 1912 photo of the Eureka Springs camp meeting, the later site of the GAAA headquarters.

Opperman's ties to Parham's ministry, the White branch of COGIC, and the Assemblies of God, he was a widely recognized figure in Pentecostalism especially in the south.⁴

Information regarding the General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies is scant, but sources do suggest that, in its very brief history, it did hold one camp meeting and the later merger conference. But Treece's work also documents an earlier GAAA Bible Conference held in Eureka Springs in 1917, including a photo of attendees which included Howard and Ethel Goss. An important early factor in Opperman's ability to unite the region was his success in convincing David Lee Floyd to unite efforts by relocating his periodical, *The Blessed Truth*, from Louisiana to Arkansas in January of 1916.⁵ Goss eventually convinced Floyd to turn the paper over to Opperman.

Opperman appears to have believed in minimal oversight and organizational structure. When the merger with the PAW transpired, Opperman, evidently, deferred to Frazee, who was 30 years older than both Opperman and Haywood.⁶ Opperman's organizational role began to diminish considerably at this point, but the establishment of the GAAA and its successful merger with the interracial PAW were no small feats, advancements which owed much to the efforts of Opperman.⁷

For varied reasons sources typically confuse the events, times, or locales of the 1918 period, especially regarding the timing of Frazee's departure. But the first meeting, that is, the merger meeting was held in St. Louis in January 1918, the second in Eureka Springs in October 1918 after Frazee's withdrawal. Specifically, the merger conference

⁴ Blumhofer, *Assemblies of God*, vol. 1, 337, 431, vol. 2, 120; Glenn Gohr, "D. C. O. Opperman and Early Ministerial Training," *AG Heritage*, Winter 1990-91, 5-8, 21; Cagle, *Echoes*, 32.

⁵ Treece, *Beulah*, 176; "Floyd Interview," 21-22, 50-53, 65, 67-68.

⁶ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 182; McClain and Foster, evidently, mix some details of 1917 and 1918, listing Goss, rather than Floyd as Secretary, see, McClain, *Seek Ye First*, 49-50, and Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 74.

⁷ Mary Brickey, "Henry Green Rodgers," *Historical News*, July-September 2000, 3; Goss, *Winds of God*, 100-101.

of the PAW and GAAA was held in St. Louis January 21-25, 1918, where the PAW had held its conference in 1917.⁸

Frazee was the acting chairman and W. E. Kidson the acting secretary. Frazee was elected General Superintendent, Opperman became Secretary, and Goss became Treasurer. Four of the 21 governing “Field Superintendents” were African American, Haywood, Lawson (Columbus), F. I. Douglas (Louisville), and Alexander Schooler (Cleveland). Regional dominance was obvious in the distribution of the remaining seventeen, with seven from the South—Texas (3), Arkansas (3), and Louisiana (1). The other superintendents were from California (4) and Canada (1) and the returning Oregon, Illinois, and Maryland board leadership (4).⁹

5.1.2 The Pre-Merger Withdrawal of the Trinitarian Majority

Undoubtedly, one of the most startling facts is that the 1917 roster of 548 PAW ministers demonstrates that only approximately 172 or 31% were definitely Oneness as the merger approached. The PAW leadership, such as Frazee, Ewart, and Haywood, apparently, had convinced the GAAA that either the non-Oneness contingency could be won over, or that they would not be a factor in the merger, the latter of which proved true.

Even more intriguing, only 89 of even the pre-merger PAW Oneness ministers, or barely half, opted to immediately join the merged body. Conversely, then, the 69% Trinitarian majority apparently gracefully allowed the minority takeover, perhaps aware

⁸ Probably due to the obscurity of the events, Clanton does not list either the date or location, *United We Stand*, 28-30.

⁹ *Minutes of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World January 21-25*, in *Meat in Due Season*, February 1918, vol. 1, (no. ?), 3; Golder, *History*, 46; “To the Jew First,” *MDS*, March 1917, 1; Leonard Lovett, “Black Holiness-Pentecostalism,” in *DCPM*, 80; *1918 PAW Minute Book*, in Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 288ff, of which the 1918 roster has not become available, requiring the comparison with 1919. Regional distribution on the Board was maintained: California – previous leaders Ewart, Farrow, and Booth-Clibborn were joined by Doak, with other previous leaders remaining, Indiana – Roberts, Maryland - Leibowitz, Illinois – Hall (Zion City), and Oregon - Alexander (Portland); Texas – Harvey Shearer, F. A. Anderson, C. A. Waltman; Arkansas – Goss, Opperman, H. E. Reed; Louisiana, G. C. Lout; Canada - Small, Chambers.

of the large number of incoming Oneness members ready to join. On the other hand, whether or not they were given opportunity to attempt a battle for the organization cannot be determined based upon the available records. It is, though, possible that this segment of ministers was significantly more sympathetic with the Oneness cause than Trinitarianism in general. They may have more than willingly allowed the transfer of the historic PAW into eager hands of Oneness leadership.

Some serious nail biting, one must assume, was taking place in the thick of such uncertainties. The majority would have known of the impending direction of the PAW, but certainly not the precise detail of theological and structural change impacting and shaping the emerging Oneness movement. Rather than battle it out and claim the PAW for the Trinitarian cause, a repeat of the AG, the majority opted to relinquish their place and to part ways—after nearly a dozen years, for some, in the Azusa Street based ministerial fellowship.¹⁰

Although 450 ministers abandoned the PAW rather than attempt to hold on to it, all of its leaders had embraced the Oneness position and were reinforced by 461 eagerly awaiting Oneness independents. But, of ‘non-joining’ ministers, the largest numbers, 64 or 12% either joined or are known to have been later associated with the Assemblies of God. Azusa ministers account for another 3%, with an additional 19% having ‘possible’ Azusa connections, from Los Angeles or elsewhere in California.¹¹

Although one joined COGIC, none, evidently, affiliated with other known groups which were either already in existence, such as the International Pentecostal Holiness

¹⁰ *Analysis of the 548 1917 PAW Minister: Oneness* 172 – 89 (joined post-merger PAW), 54 (didn’t join: Independent, ACFJC, defected, etc.), 15 (Indianapolis, Oakland, probable), 14 (est.); *AG*, 64; NC *Independent*, 23, *Azusa*, 15, with additional 60 (Los Angeles, possible), 43 (CA, possible); *COGIC*, 1; *PAOC*, 10; *Frazee*, 22, with the additional northwest block, 26; Unknown Missionary Affiliation, 14; Missing Page, 36; Unknown Affiliation, 62. Also, see, Peagler, *Haywood*, 79, as to possible pre-merger negotiations and discussions.

¹¹ Cf., Paddock, *Heritage*, 43; 20% are simply ‘Unknown’ later affiliation.

Church, centered in the east, or the Church of God (Cleveland, TN), or groups that organized shortly thereafter, such as the Open Bible Standard Churches and McPherson's Foursquare Church. In North Dakota a group of about 5% of the total first fellowshipped independently for a time, but they were later absorbed into other groups, especially the AG. This withdrawing 'non-Oneness' PAW majority, apparently, differed considerably from their AG counterparts, reflecting a more sympathetic, open attitude toward Oneness issues and the plight and motivations for proceeding.¹²

Therefore, the likelihood is quite high that a strong 'independent' body of churches, originating from these separating PAW ministers, remained unaffiliated in the west and northwest, at least during much of the early period. Frazee himself, for example, may have formed a loose network. But such a conclusion remains merely conjecture in the absence of definitive data. But there is corollary data, on the other hand, which substantiates the strong independency which characterized the entire area in the early period. Anderson, for example, observes that:

The proportion of blacks in the Pentecostal movement would have been raised substantially from the roughly 20% shown in the 1936 census had the independents—those who belonged to autonomous assemblies—been included.... Moreover, black Pentecostals generally were more firmly attached to independency than Whites as a whole. On the Pacific Coast, for example ... independency was the norm in southern California, the center of the movement on the West Coast, until the mid-1920's when large numbers of Whites were gathered into the Foursquare Gospel Church of 'Sister Aimee' and the Assemblies of God. The blacks, however, largely clung to autonomous churches like Azusa mission, which never appeared in any census return.¹³

¹² Robert B. Mitchell, *Heritage & Horizons* (Des Moines, IA: Open Bible Publishers, 1982); see, also, ministerial rosters for FGC, CG, and IPHC for this time period; Rodgers, *Northern Harvest*, 233, 72-73, 202-203, 232, with ND ministers relative to the Fellowship of Christian Assemblies, or Independent AG, see, *NIDPCM*, 305-306.

¹³ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 125; A large number of independent Trinitarian Pentecostals which eschewed the creation of denominations, remained a separate, yet important segment of Pentecostalism even into the twenty first century.

5.2 The Post-Merger Withdrawal of J. J. Frazee from the PAW

Frazee's mid-1918 withdrawal from the PAW, regardless of any and all nuanced reasons for the withdrawal, stunned or puzzled almost everyone. But the question remains as to why he withdrew. The fact that absolutely no response was offered to his exit substantiates the conclusion that the events were problematic for the movement, although the silence also suggests circumstances which did not involve a 'defection,' *per se*, which would have been honed in on by the Trinitarian press. Silence rules out mere 'retirement,' as well, partly because it would ignore the corresponding dramatic withdrawal of Portland and northwest ministers. And, in all probability, Ewart's reference to having almost taken a pastorate in Portland in 1918, was not inferring Frazee's congregation.¹⁴

By the time of the January 1918 PAW/GAAA merger in St. Louis, the prospect of the loss of Frazee's cooperation may have already surfaced, but, certainly, it did so soon afterward, for he had withdrawn from the PAW at least by mid-year and was replaced in October. What is not known is what precipitated his exit and the loss of the entire western segment of the PAW. Both Haywood and Frazee were in attendance and intricately involved in the January merger proceedings, suggesting little awareness of a pending problem. Indication of a theological positioning or rigidity does not seem to have been apparent, at least from what is preserved in the minutes.

The proceedings note the following doctrinal requirement: "Moreover, the Field Superintendents shall be one in doctrinal points that mark the distinction of this branch of the work from all others."¹⁵ Emphasis was on essential polity and representative officials. Frazee was duly elected "General Superintendent," without incident, along with other all-White PAW leadership, with Opperman, secretary, and Goss, treasurer. The merger gave

¹⁴ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 80.

¹⁵ *Meat in Due Season*, "Minutes," February 1918, 4.

priority to the PAW, rather than the GAAA, at least to the ‘offices,’ and, very likely, adopted a version of the long held PAW “Articles of Faith,” with only minor changes from the GAAA.

Therefore, once the merger was complete, Frazee’s issue, if not a personal matter or a reaction to fear of impending defeat, may have resulted from his commitment to neutrality which was the prevailing feature of the PAW throughout the decade of his PAW leadership. The transition to an ‘all-Oneness’ theological foundation, especially if the withdrawal of the ‘sympathetic’ majority was an unexpected loss, and if it resulted in the sense of having ‘gone too far,’ either rhetorically, theologically or structurally, may have required of him more than he had been prepared to give. Frankly, extremely little is known of the theological constructs of Frazee’s ministry as he entered the merger process in early 1918.

Roberts revealed in 1921, though, that it was the later discussions of the October 1919 PAW Convention to which he had taken such great exception. Interestingly, although the evening services were held at Tomlinson Hall, Roberts’ own church was the setting for the day sessions in which these very discussions took place. Roberts no longer held a ‘board’ position after the 1919 Convention. Unlike the 1918 convention, in 1919 the PAW adopted its own “affirmative” theological positions.

This Assembly should commence and determine by deliberation, the following Scriptural questions: (a) That one baptism.... is evidenced by the speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives the utterance, as the initial evidence thereof. (b) That the New Birth (being ‘born again’) includes a genuine repentance, water-baptism in Jesus’ name, and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, evidenced by speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.¹⁶

But with J. J. Frazee, the previous year, whatever his theological expectations regarding the merger may have been, the intentional PAW deferment of doctrinal

¹⁶ *1919 PAW Minute Book*, 9, 10; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 299-305.

discussion, at that time, suggests that his sudden contention with the PAW after the merger, between January and October of 1918, which led to his absence and withdrawal, was not primarily theological. Frazee was not, unexpectedly, ousted by the October vote, but, rather, the election, at the height of the pandemic, was *due to* Frazee's own withdrawal, which explains his absence. Mautz, who had been secretary since 1912, also withdrew, although his brother, Jacob Mautz, and sister-in-law, Jenny, remained with the merged PAW.¹⁷

The merger, obviously, could not have occurred without the efforts and support of Frazee, whom they elected leader of the new organization, rather than the southern based Opperman. They chose to retain the time-honored name, Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. Nevertheless, J. J. Frazee's January 1918 election and merger responsibilities, a week prior to his 67th birthday, are his last known activities in connection with the PAW. Frazee's withdrawal from the PAW, probably shortly after the merger, is shrouded in uncertainty.

Nevertheless, his withdrawal does make obvious the reason for the withdrawal of the Portland ministers. An obvious west-northwest split took place, probably in a perceived need to show support for Frazee. Astonishingly, all but two of the 34 Portland pre-merger ministers withdrew in 1918, George Farrow, who returned to California, and George Carter, who moved to Colorado. According to the FBI records, six of the Portland churches were directly under Frazee, with 22 Portland ministers. Almost the entire California and northwest area group of PAW ministers withdrew. For example, out of 187 California ministers, 22 stayed in the PAW, and 88% withdrew. The northwest

¹⁷ FBI File#55234, 41, *1919 PAW Minute Book*, 18; *1920 US Census*, San Antonio, CA, 3B; Cf., Urshan, *Life*, 191, and Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 202.

area of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho had 9% of the PAW ministers in 1917, but only 8 of the 77 remained with the PAW.¹⁸

In light of these related regional losses, the abruptness of the events, and the thoroughness of the severance, Frazee's withdrawal could not have been due simply to health issues. Census data also makes it clear that the Frazees did not relocate, but remained in the same residence for some years after their withdrawal from the PAW. Therefore, the undeniable conclusion is that some issue, as yet undetermined, perhaps theological or political, resulted in a Frazee severance from the PAW. Yet with the PAW's history of interracial commitment under Frazee's leadership, race as a factor can almost certainly be ruled out.¹⁹

In his absence, at the next PAW conference, October 1918, in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, Frazee was replaced as chairman, without fanfare and, certainly, without explanation. Therefore, the battle for the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, though preserved in far less dramatic and historical detail than the efforts expended for the Assemblies of God, was an intriguing 'battle,' nonetheless.

Frazee's sudden and silent exit from the PAW in 1918 was sufficiently enigmatic to evoke the repeated speculation that his disappearance must have been due the horrible influenza pandemic which was sweeping the world in 1918. Influenza had even caused the early cancellation of the October PAW convention in which Frazee was replaced.²⁰

¹⁸ See, FBI File#55234, 7.

¹⁹ *1920 U.S. Census*, Portland, OR, 13A, Frazee (age 69), Louvica ("Anna," age 36), and five children, the oldest fifteen; Cf., also, the racial influences in Iowa, with few African-Americans, although, by 1873, the small community of Keosauqua, near the Frazees, had one the highest Black populations in the state, see, Leola Nelson Bermann, "The Negro of Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 1948, in "Country Facts and Folklore," Andy Reddick, <http://iavanburen.org/FactAndFolklore.htm>.

²⁰ Known as the Spanish flu, the pandemic began early in 1918 and lasted into 1920, with worldwide impact, claiming more than 25 million lives, see, Alfred W. Crosby, *Epidemic and Peace, 1918* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), and *America's Forgotten Pandemic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 320ff.

Evidence, such as oppositional rejoicing, is inadequate to suggest a full Frazee defection, perhaps suggesting that he did not defect, that his later activities are not as yet historically clear enough to make such a determination. Frazee, therefore, may not have defected, but he certainly did withdraw from the PAW.

Sometime after 1920 Frazee's young wife Anna severed her relationship with her husband, remarried, and moved her family from Oregon to California. But the time sequence of these personal issues may or may not have influenced events related to Frazee's earlier involvement with, or separation from, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.²¹ Frazee was institutionalized at least as early as September 1929, and, ultimately sent to the Oregon State Hospital in Salem where he died June 14, 1930.²²

Not only in Frazee's circumstances, but with many early defectors it is often unclear why and to what extent they distanced themselves from the emerging structure of the movement. But explanations of separation sometimes included concerns that the movement was becoming, or had become, more and more theologically rigid, embracing unexpected, unacceptable positions, only "gradually." It is, though, also just as likely that, in time, many simply found themselves uneasy with the implications of Oneness thought. Rather than a gradualism of doctrinal development, the untenable position of

The *Meat in Due Season* announcement, signed by Doak and Booth-Clibborn, said that "certain conditions have arisen requiring a cessation of all gatherings (public), by reason of National Order," "Eureka Springs, Arkansas," November 1918, vol. 2, no. 4, 2.

²¹ Anna married a neighbor, B. A. Smead, whose wife Rose Belle ("Rosa") died in 1920, "Rosa Smead's Death," by truitti, 23 June 2007, www.ancestry.com. Some time afterward, while caring for the Smead children, the remarriage took place, "Little Clyde Smead," by truitti, www.ancestry.com, 23 June 2007.

²² "Oregon State Hospital Remains," by truitti, 14 March 2009, www.ancestry.com, quoting *The Oregonian*, David Maisel, "Oregon's Forgotten Hospital," 1/09/05, winner of the 2006 Pulitzer Prize, editorial writing. Relatives claimed Frazee's remains from the "Cremains Room" of the institution in 2007, at which time he was buried near Salem, Oregon. Also, see, "Last Years of Jacob Jackson Frazee," by truitti, 10 March 2009, www.ancestry.com, for copies of admissions forms from September 1929 to June 1930. Anna married neighbor B. A. Smead, whose wife Rosa died in 1920, "Rosa Smead's Death," by truitti, 23 June 2007, www.ancestry.com.

Oneness logic from the orthodox, ‘fundamentalist,’ position, and the gradual rejection by the broader movement, became the overriding issue, and, for some, increasingly problematic.

5.3 The E. W. Doak Era of Interracial Leadership and Worship

Oneness Pentecostalism reached its “high water mark” in the existing Pentecostal structures by 1918-1919 and was forced to mobilize independently, a fact which actually did a great deal to solidify the movement, and, paradoxically, to guarantee its future expansion.²³ After reaching a ‘high tide’ in the AG in 1916, gaining leadership control of the PAW in 1918, and peaking within the Pentecostal movement in Canada in 1919, the Jesus’ Name effort was on its way to complete independence from mainstream Pentecostalism.

A more isolated development, apparently, worked in tandem with its separate, aggressive expansion. Once it was on its own, it could begin to achieve its own objectives, not only regarding theological refinement and reflection, but also its own organizational structures and polity, for example, and the development of its interracial priorities, worldwide evangelism, missionary expansion, and so forth.

After the withdrawal of J. J. Frazee from the PAW in 1918, the urgency of securing another chairman prevailed, in spite of the rare, global flu pandemic which raged throughout the world. Another PAW Convention, therefore, convened in the South at Opperman’s, the second week of October, in Eureka Springs, Arkansas. Details regarding the election of E. W. Doak, which had been somewhat obscured, are clarified in the account by David Lee Floyd. At the convention, Floyd, who had been working closely with Opperman, made the nomination of Doak for the top leadership, who was yet another west coast minister to take the place of the long standing, out-going west coast

²³ E. N. Bell, “The ‘Acts’ on Baptism,” *Weekly Evangel*, 3.

leadership of Frazee.²⁴ Although the strongly western region-based PAW was rapidly expanding its base to become an international body, a sudden shift of hierarchy away from the west, too quickly, could have been unsettling.

Evidently, the only order of business that was accomplished was the election of Doak as chairman and of Booth-Clibborn as secretary. The convention cancellation advertisement, which was placed in *Meat in Due Season*, authored by Doak and Booth-Clibborn, read as follows:

Whereas, in the Convention of the P. A. of the World, now being held at above place: certain conditions have arisen requiring a cessation of all gatherings (public), by reason of National Order promulgated by the National authorities at Washington, D. C. And the work of this Convention having just begun, we deem it advisable that the Convention be adjourned until January 16th, 1919, at the City of Indianapolis, Indiana.²⁵

More has been known regarding Doak than Frazee, but, still, details have been scant. When Doak assumed the leadership of the PAW, at age 59, he was eight years younger than the outgoing chairman. At least a few photographs have been preserved, and a few brief articles have inclusive material, but no known articles demonstrate his theological prowess or defense of the movement. But, unlike Frazee, Doak's connection with Azusa Street and the early PAW is not known, though he may have been a part of the GAAA.²⁶

Edward Wesley Doak, whose parents were originally from Vermont, was born March 26, 1859 in Ovid, Michigan, near the Indiana state line, but grew up with his

²⁴ Floyd, "Interview," 22; cf., Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 196; see, also, "Second General Convention," *The Blessed Truth*, August 15, 1918, vol. 3, no. 11, 4; Odell Cagle, *Echoes of the Past* (Stockton, CA: Apostolic Press, 1972), 27.

²⁵ *Meat in Due Season*, November 1918, vol. 2, no. 4, 1.

²⁶ *U.S. Passport Applications-1795-1925*, 5 August 1913; Photos include a front page group picture, "Doake" (sic), of missionaries en route to Egypt, *MDS*, December 1913, vol. 1, no. 7, 1; See, also, Martin, *Seymour*, 297, "Doake" (sic), during their Azusa days; Tyson, *Chalices*, 219, 349, of a 1919 Convention photo in Tomlinson Hall and a 1920 PAW office photo of Doak, Haywood, and others.

mother and a step-father (“Pitts”) in Victor, Michigan.²⁷ The young Doak, according to ancestry data, following in his step-father’s profession, worked as a fairly successful carpenter-contractor. Moving to Appleton, Wisconsin, he met and married Nellie A. Fuller in 1883. In 1899, his contractor business took them from Wisconsin to Hawaii, where he worked on Oahu. With the Schaepees also living in Honolulu, it is possible they first met at this time.²⁸ But, within a year of the outbreak of the Azusa revival, both families were intricately involved with Azusa Pentecostalism in Los Angeles.

After the Doaks moved to California, they lived there the rest of their lives, in either Pasadena or neighboring Monrovia. Like Schaepe, Doak was involved with Azusa, possibly as early as the Arroyo Seco meetings in 1907. Early in 1909, with Doak already in his late 40’s, and having had an adequate association with Azusa, Crawford made him a trustee of her Portland mission, indicating an obvious high respect for Doak’s ministry.²⁹ At least as early as 1913, the Doaks, as missionaries, were connected with Ewart’s *The Good Report*.

Within weeks of the rebaptism of Haywood and Roberts in Indianapolis in 1915, Doak, who had “severely” criticized and resisted the movement, was rebaptized in Los Angeles at Ewart’s Arroyo Seco Camp Meeting held in April-June. Cook and Haywood were the camp speakers. Doak’s rebaptism story appeared next to that of the Indianapolis rebaptisms, in the same issue of *Meat in Due Season*, in what was, otherwise, a doctrinaire article by Carrie M. Pool. Pool wrote, “I believe the word of God just the way

²⁷ 1860 U.S. Census, Middlebury, MI, 41; 1870 U.S. Census, Victor, MI, 22, “Doke” (sic).

²⁸ 1900 U.S. Census, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, 19A; *Appleton, Wisconsin Directories*, 1884-1898, 1897, “Edward W. Doak.”

²⁹ Nellie Doak died in Los Angeles, October 14, 1944, *California Death Index, 1940-1997*; 1910 U.S. Census, Pasadena, CA, 9A, listing his occupation as “builder,” but with “missionaries” Royal Rollins as neighbors. Also, the 1916 Voter Registration lists Doak as ‘retired,’ evidently from his contractor and missionary work, “Index to Register of Voters,” Pasadena City Precinct No. 46, Los Angeles County, California, 1916. His brother, and neighbor, “Merton,” is listed as a ‘physician.’

it is,” then, tells the story of a 1907 Virginia “band” “convinced” of the “right way to baptize.” They “all obeyed the word of God and the power fell mightily in their meetings.”³⁰

Following a testimonial regarding India missionary Robert Cook, and “how God has led them to baptize all the natives in the scriptural way,” Pool related the story of Doak’s moving Oneness conversion.

In the afternoon service a touching incident happened: Bro. Doak, missionary from Egypt, got up and publicly confessed that he had severely criticized ‘this way’ and also had said many things against Bros. Ewart and Cook. With tears running down his face he asked them to forgive him and said, ‘inasmuch as I have spoken against you, Bro. Ewart, I want you personally to baptize me.’ Oh, Hallelujah, this is ‘the good old way’ wherein the apostles walked.³¹

They were, at the time, returned missionaries, having been laboring in Egypt since at least 1913, although it is not known if they originally went to the mission field even earlier. And, according to the Bowdans, the Doaks had attended the Arroyo Seco camp meeting in April 1913. And, by 1916, Doak was serving a missionary secretary for Ewart’s *Meat in Due Season*.³²

Three and half years after his rebaptism, Doak was elected chairman of the PAW. Therefore, beginning in January 1919, Doak and Haywood both made history, serving together in the top leadership positions of an interracial Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. In the past, although the PAW had many interracial churches, an interracial ministerial body, and even national lower-level interracial board leadership—its top, national leadership officials had remained all-White.

On January 21, 1919 G. T. Haywood was elected for the first time to a top national position in the organizational structure as the General Secretary, ushering in a

³⁰ Carrie M. Pool, “An Open Letter,” *Meat In Due Season*, June 1915, vol. 1, no. 6.

³¹ Pool, “An Open Letter,” *Meat In Due Season*, 3.

³² LaBlanc, *Like A Rose*, 6; *Meat in Due Season*, June 1916, vol. 1, no. 13, 2.

fully interracial era of leadership in the PAW.³³ Therefore, the 1918-1924 PAW period is accurately designated as the Doak-Haywood era. Undoubtedly, the choice of Haywood demonstrates the intentionality of a prioritization of the interracial vision, even without a PAW Black majority. African American Alexander R. Schooler, Cleveland, Ohio, was elected to the newly established Vice-General Overseer position, with T. C. Davis, the pastor who took Roberts' White Indianapolis church, as General Treasurer.

The Indianapolis elections solidified Doak's earlier 1918 election as General Overseer, since he was a 'seasoned' minister, but not well known. He was not currently a pastor, nor did he have the renown or leadership savvy of Haywood, but he was 21 years his senior, for Haywood was merely 38 years old. Similarly, other more well-known candidates, such as Goss, Opperman, Ewart, and even Cook, were all about Haywood's age, whereas Doak was nearly sixty and represented the PAW's west coast origins. But, it was important for him to hit the ground running. *The Blessed Truth* reported later in the year that Doak had actually "visited... more than twenty states since January, traveling from coast to coast," and that he was "acquainting himself with the work of the entire field."³⁴

Therefore, not only did the Doak-Haywood leadership represent homage to the western roots and original strength of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, but even more importantly it emphasized the Oneness interracial commitment of both the churches and the leadership. This was all the more remarkable, considering that Haywood's parents had been young slaves in Raleigh at the time of E. W. Doak's birth. And, in their lifetimes, the Doaks and the Haywoods both were privileged to witness the events which gave rise to such interracial possibilities.

³³ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 196-197; "Important Notice," *Meat in Due Season*, February 1919, vol. 2, no. 8, 1.

³⁴ "Editorial," *The Blessed Truth*, October 1, 1919, vol. 4, no. 19, 2.

Haywood was not merely elevated to a top position in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, but they chose to incorporate the organization in the state of Indiana, January 25, 1919, and move its headquarters, not to Los Angeles, where Doak lived, but to Indianapolis. The census records bare out that Doak remained in Los Angeles, although the headquarters and offices of the PAW were in Indianapolis. The PAW directory listed the Doaks in Indianapolis, but the address was Haywood's.³⁵

5.4. The Impact of High Profile Conversions, Rejections, and Defections

Several defections from, and rejections of, the Oneness movement during these years sent shock waves through the ranks of otherwise high-spirited Jesus' Name proponents. The defections of well-known men such as B. F. Lawrence, and certainly Indianapolis' own L. V. Roberts, were disconcerting,³⁶ as were the rejections of the movement which resulted from ultimate decisions of leaders such as E. N. Bell and R. E. McAlister. Although the budding movement continued gaining ground and making rather substantial advancements, the psychology of rejection had its impact. Even at the height of seemed at first to be euphoric victories, such as that of the AG Chairman, setbacks were imminent.

The McAlister's later rejection of the movement, for example, was part and parcel of the loss of the majority of the Canadian ministers. In fact, three separate severe and dispiriting losses, which were rarely noted by early Oneness advocates, occurred between 1916 and 1919, which each had an enormous and profound impact upon the entire movement.

³⁵ In a rare circumstance, Doak appears twice in the 1920 Census, in *both* Santa Cruz, living with the "Websters," and in San Pedro, with their 34 year old son, "Martin," see, *1920 U.S. Census*, Santa Cruz, CA, 4B, and San Pedro, CA, 27A.

³⁶ See, Appendix E: "High Profile Rejection and Defection Impacting Early Oneness Pentecostalism."

Of course, with Haywood's 1915 rebaptism, followed as it was by Bell's rebaptism, the movement was charged with "electrified" expectations of sweeping victories for the Oneness cause. To the contrary, though, by the following year, with the AG's harsh rejection and expulsion of Oneness ministers, many of whom were charter members, the minority status of the Oneness faction within the Pentecostal movement had become obvious. Although Oneness Pentecostals remained, for the most part, undaunted, disappointment was difficult to conceal and the damages difficult to deflect.

The second major loss came in 1918 when the huge majority of ministers abandoned the PAW to the Oneness cause in the PAW/GAAA merger. This was a bitter-sweet victory, indeed, offset by the triumph of becoming heir to the Azusa Street-centered PAW and by the accompanying 'all-Oneness' interracial victory of the merger. But attitudes toward the movement, especially from the mainstream, were hardening, and broad-based sympathies were waning. And by 1919-1920 a third fracture occurred, this time in Canada, when the PAOC abandoned the Oneness position, necessitating the 1921 establishment of the ACOP of Canada by Frank Small.³⁷

Nevertheless, numerous notable conversions to the Oneness message were emphasized, such as the rebaptism of the well-known evangelist Mattie Crawford in 1921, events well publicized in various publications throughout the movement.³⁸ Just as the devastating news of L. V. Roberts' defection was breaking, Andrew Urshan had only just joined the PAW himself, late in 1919, and the news of the switched allegiance of such a high profile leader was, indeed, welcome.

Although Urshan had been rebaptized in Russia in early 1916, and protested the use of the word 'persons' at the 1916 AG Convention, he did not disassociate with the

³⁷ See, Reed, *In Jesus' Name*, 146, n. 47.

³⁸ Mattie Crawford, "Spiritual Outpouring in Dayton, Ohio," *The Blessed Truth*, Columbus City, Iowa, vol. 6, no. 10, October 1, 1921, 2.

Assemblies of God when they expelled the Oneness ministers. Instead, he remained an extremely popular AG evangelist and joined in 1917.³⁹ By the following year, his Oneness views were under more and more scrutiny, and he was pressured out of the AG. He joined the PAW and in December 1919 he began publishing the first of the ‘new’ Oneness series of his influential paper *The Witness of God*, of which he had published 104 editions by 1933. The popular periodical not only increased his renown as an evangelist, but popularized Urshan as a Oneness apologist.

In 1921 the *Witness of God* referred to “the few persons who have recently turned their backs” on the movement, noting that “our *old issue brethren* or rather the Pentecostal Trinitarians are reporting in their papers that the New Issue people’s work is *crumbling*.”⁴⁰ Urshan’s ministry alone was an adequate rebuttal, but such statements did, in fact, demonstrate the loss felt by the impact of such defections. Urshan literally packed *The Witness of God* with his own theological defenses of the movement, as well as an array of articles by others, including, for example, the 1921 article by John Patterson, highlighting the issue of “The Essentiality of Water Baptism” for the “remission” of sins.⁴¹

5.5 The Unexpected Setback of R. C. Lawson’s Split from the PAW

At precisely this same time, though, a severely disappointing blow to the prospects of the new interracial aspirations of the PAW occurred with the unexpected 1919 withdrawal of African American leader, and Haywood’s early protégé, Robert Clarence Lawson. Lawson had become a powerfully influential Black leader in his own

³⁹ 1916 *Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*, St. Louis, October 1-7, 1916, 16; *Our God Is One*, 73-76; Urshan was born May 17, 1884 and emigrated from Abajaloo, Urumia in 1901, see, *U.S. Passport Application*, No. 17167, October 13, 1913.

⁴⁰ “Interesting News & Info,” Andrew D. Urshan, ed., *The Witness of God*, vol. 2, 13th edition, January 1921, 7, italics added.

⁴¹ John Patterson, “The Essentiality of Water Baptism,” *The Witness of God*, vol. 2, 22nd edition, October 1921, 4-6.

right within the movement, one of the most widely known African American evangelists in Pentecost, whose loss of involvement and support could only serve to weaken PAW efforts, at a time when unity was critical.

An ambiguity remains, thus far, in the records regarding the year of Lawson's birth, May 5, 1883 or 1888, in New Iberia, Louisiana, although official Lawson biographies, perhaps correctly, do maintain the earlier date. Nevertheless, Lawson's own signed 1923 US Passport not only has Lawson giving his own age as 35, but contains an "Affidavit of Birth," signed by a 25 year acquaintance from New Iberia, Matthew V. Boutte, which gives his birth year as "1888."⁴²

Partial details of the Lawson story are found in two separate biographies regarding the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith, one by Thomas in *For the Defense of the Gospel*, and the second, *The Silent Spokesman*, by Stewart and DuPree.⁴³ Lawson, from an early age, due to the death of his parents, who had been itinerant ministers and missionaries, was raised by an aunt.⁴⁴ At about the age of 25, while traveling extensively in 1913, severe illness brought him from Canada and Chicago to Indianapolis.

... I was from the South, and I hadn't gotten the negatives of

⁴² *U.S. Passport Application*, #343224, September 1923; *1900 U.S. Census*, Iberia Parish, Louisiana, 139A, no. 22, with the year "1890" and the age "10," extremely unlikely if he were actually 17; *1930 U.S. Census*, Manhattan, New York, 14B, with the year "1890" and age "40," although, inexplicably, this is the same age also given in the previous census, 1920, a decade earlier, *1920 U.S. Census*, Manhattan, New York, 3A; *1917 WWI Registration*, June 4, 1917, Columbus, OH, with the year 1887; Cf., also, the photographic evidence.

⁴³ Mable L. Thomas in *For the Defense of the Gospel*, Arthur M. Anderson, ed. (New York: COOLJC, Inc., 1971), 6-23, and Robert C. Spellman and Mable L. Thomas, *The Life, Legend and Legacy of Bishop R. C. Lawson* (New York: by the authors, Inc., 1983), 9-4, as well as in abbreviated form in *Bishop William L. Bonner: The Man and His God* (New York: The W. L. Bonner Literary Committee, 1999), 262-272; Alexander C. Stewart and Sherry Sherrod DuPree, *The Silent Spokesman: Bishop Robert Clarence Lawson* (Gainesville, FL: Displays for Schools, Inc., 1994).

⁴⁴ Lawson's father, William, died in Texas, after which he lived with Nathan (age 60) and Peggy (35) Frazier, see, *1900 U.S. Census*; "aunt Grace," *Legend*, 44A, 9.

segregation out of me yet, and how they had treated me down there. And I didn't believe there could be a God when they had such prejudice in their minds The Lord just let a sickness come upon me.... I got so bad, I went to Indianapolis to see a friend of mine whose father owned a large evening place and saloon, and from there he sent me to the hospital The doctors pronounced me 'TB plural.'⁴⁵

He was miraculously healed, though, after his hospital roommate's elderly mother, who was a member of Haywood's Indianapolis church, invited him to come for prayer. Lawson's earliest hymn, commonly known as "God is Great and Greatly to Be Praised," is widely held to have been penned after this Lawson healing. "He's balm of Gilead, the great Physician," the first stanza reads. "Now by His stripes we're healed of all diseases." The crescendo of the chorus climaxes with the title line: "God is great in my soul!"⁴⁶

Later, in 1914, he received Spirit baptism, entered the ministry under Haywood's direct tutelage, and married Carrie F. Fields from Herbert Davis' Leavenworth, Kansas church, which had been brought into the Oneness movement through Lawson's campaigns. Shortly afterward, he took the Columbus, Ohio work of Albert and Lula Roberts, who were also originally from Haywood's church. Columbus expanded quickly into a successful interracial congregation. He travelled extensively, nonetheless, from Columbus, during which time he established strong works in San Antonio and St. Louis, as well.⁴⁷ News of Lawson's successful revivals, such as the story of Baptist minister M.

⁴⁵ 1952 Tape Transcription, in Spellman and Thomas, *Legend*, 41-42.

⁴⁶ See, "God Is Great In My Soul," *Bridegroom Songs*, 39. Also, Lawson followed Haywood in joining the 'pre-Oneness' PAW, see, *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 8ff, as did Karl Smith (Columbus), E. G. Lowe (L.A.), and Oddous Barber (Boston) and G. C. Beaver (Kansas City, KS), both from Indianapolis.

⁴⁷ See, *The Voice in the Wilderness*, October 1916, no. 18, "Columbus, O.," 1, 4, "The Convention," 4, and "Norwegian's Sister's Testimony," 1; "San Antonio, Tex.," also, *Meat in Due Season*, September 1917, vol. 1, no. 22, "Good Tent Meetings in Los Angeles, Cal.," 1, regarding Lawson at Ewart's Compton Ave. tent meeting.

R. Gregory's conversion, was plenteous in the early Oneness periodicals.⁴⁸ He was also a contributing editor to some of these papers, though extant articles are news pieces only.

An AME seminary student from Zanesville, who had a 'charge' with a Methodist congregation in Columbus, Karl F. Smith, a young man destined to renowned leadership in the PAW, was Spirit filled in Lawson's church in April 1915. By 1916 Smith had become Lawson's much needed assistant. Along with the decision to withdraw from the PAW, Lawson had decided to resign from the Columbus church, which he turned over to Smith in July 1919, probably shortly after handing over his credentials.

Later, in July of 1919, R. C. Lawson decided that New York City was the city of his calling where he was to start over, prompting his immediate, aggressive launching of the church which would quickly become his most successful, rivaling any in Pentecost, including Haywood's.⁴⁹ During this transition time he also attended the COGIC convocation in St. Louis to dispute Oneness doctrine with Mason, who later said of Lawson: "the brother was wrong." He had understood Lawson to believe that, after the cross, Jesus was God 'only,' and "*no longer* the Son of God."⁵⁰

Lawson's most famed theological dispute was with his own mentor, G. T. Haywood, and the primary issue was that of divorce. Haywood had published his views on divorce in *The Voice in the Wilderness* throughout 1918, concluding that divorces prior to conversion did *not* require that individuals return to their first companions or,

⁴⁸ "A Baptist Preacher's Testimony," *Meat in Due Season*, February 1917, vol. 1, no. 16, 4; Martin Rawleigh Gregory afterward established Emmanuel Tabernacle Baptist Church of the Apostolic Faith in Columbus in 1916.

⁴⁹ Aaron J. Smith, *A Devout Man: Biography of Karl F. Smith (1892-1972)* (Chapel Hill, NC: Professional Press, 1998), 5-6, 8-9, 17, and, racial integration, see, 23, 42ff; Also, Smith founded Aeon Bible College of the PAW in 1941, 42, 63-68.

⁵⁰ See, Stewart, *Silent Spokesman*, 14; Jacobsen, *A Reader*, 219, italics added.

else, remain single. “I had preached many a time,” Haywood wrote, “and caused many of them to separate, thinking I was doing God’s bidding.”⁵¹

Lawson, though, was appalled, and “took a stand,” emphatically and vociferously, against Haywood’s new view. Such a couple, Lawson believed, *must*, indeed, dissolve their marriage and return to their first spouses, if possible, or else remain unmarried. Lawson, therefore, decided to protest by means of “open” letters of opposition, which, in Lawson’s words, “precipitated a controversy” across the movement, “culminating” in a showdown at the Indianapolis annual convention.⁵²

Both men, after publishing their views in letter and periodical form, published books on their views of marriage and divorce, *The Marriage and Divorce Question in the Church*, by Haywood, and Lawson’s *An Open Letter on the Burning Issue of Marriage and Divorce*.⁵³ One of the most interesting illustrations in Haywood’s book was the example of a couple at his Indianapolis church who received Spirit baptism, in spite of the fact that, against his own beliefs at the time, they were *remarried*. But crucial to the story is the fact that, also seeking Spirit baptism that “very” evening, was Lawson himself.

Not only did it impact Haywood, he notes, but “everybody saw it.” And then he adds: “Elder R. C. Lawson was there that very night seeking the Holy Ghost and seeing what God had done, went over and sat in the very same seat that he might be filled but

⁵¹ G. T. Haywood, “The Marriage and Divorce Question (Article No. 2),” *The Voice in the Wilderness*, October 1918, no. 23, 2.

⁵² R. C. Lawson, “Pentecostal Intolerance,” March 1937, in Anderson, *Defense*, 310; cf. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith*, 122, 138, n. 31.

⁵³ G. T. Haywood, *The Marriage and Divorce Question in the Church* (Indianapolis: Christ Temple Publishing Company, n. d.), c. 1928; R. C. Lawson, *An Open Letter on the Burning Issue of Marriage and Divorce* (New York: Church of Christ Publishing Company, n. d.); Cf., Robert C. Spellman, “Issues of Consensus and Controversy Within and Amongst Mainline Black Pentecostal Church Organizations,” Society for Pentecostal Studies, Dallas, TX, November 8, 1990; Stewart and DuPree, *Silent Spokesman*, 15.

was not successful at that time.”⁵⁴ Not only does this illustration illuminate the issues surrounding the debate, in some rather interesting ways, but it dates the origin of the issue itself. Lawson sought Spirit Baptism in 1913 or 1914, and, thus, this is the timeframe in which Haywood’s reformulated his views on divorce.

The details regarding this convention confrontation indicate that it must have been in 1919, and, almost certainly, it would have been the earlier January convention, rather than October. This is due to the fact, as Lawson’s account demonstrates, that he “had not resigned” from the Columbus church, at the time, but was, in fact, “still” the pastor, even when he later withdrew from the PAW, events which took place before July 1919.⁵⁵ Establishing the timing of this event also helps pinpoint the time of Lawson’s move to New York.

It is also quite evident that this could not have been the 1918 convention either, as is sometimes suggested, because the events took place in “Indianapolis.” But the January 1918 PAW/GAAA merger was in St. Louis, and Doak’s October 1919 election took place in Eureka Springs. The showdown must have occurred in January 1919, in spite of the fact that ambiguities persist, including the fact that Robert and Carrie Lawson are included in the PAW Rosters published late in 1919, whereas Smith, who was following Lawson’s lead in leaving the PAW, at least at this time, is no longer included in the roster.⁵⁶

In obviously related events, by the next convention, October 1919, the PAW had, interestingly, adopted the very divorce policy to which Lawson so objected. “No person shall be ordained, or licensed, who has divorced his wife (or her husband), and remarried, *since* coming into the Body of Christ:--both of whom having been members of the Body

⁵⁴ Haywood, *Divorce*, 4-5.

⁵⁵ Cf., Thomas, *Legend*, 11.

⁵⁶ Thomas, *Legend*, 11; 1919-1920 PAW Minute Book, 17.

of Christ.”⁵⁷ Undoubtedly, Lawson was referencing the debate and adoption of this section of the by-laws, and, by the time the Article of Faith were published, Lawson had already withdrawn.

Haywood, Lawson reported, taught for “four hours” on this very subject at the offending convention, to which Lawson strongly objected, especially when Doak and Haywood, in order to “muzzle all opposition,” determined not to allow Lawson “anything to say” in rebuttal. Lawson recalled later that the “majority, who was of small minds,” were swayed, and thus, agreed with Haywood, “with few exceptions.”⁵⁸

This issue was merely ‘the final straw’ which, from Lawson’s viewpoint, resulted in his being “forced out.” But other critical issues also play a contributing role in Lawson’s increasing dissatisfaction, two of the most significant being opposition to women preachers and his belief in required head covering ‘veils’ for women. Women ministers, even in the PAW, were quite limited, nonetheless, by the ministerial policies, being required, for example, to only continue the “oversight” of a church “until a man is raised up in their midst.”

Lawson, though, had made the decision to withdraw from the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. He would not be dissuaded. The die had been cast. “I resigned personally to the president, Elder Doak, who was the head of the P.A.W.,” Lawson explained, “by handing my credentials to him at my breakfast table when he was a house guest of mine.” Doak’s Columbus visit, therefore, represented the full spectrum of integrated effort at appeasement, the precise timing of which is, thus far, undetermined.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *1919 PAW Minute Book*, Article 7, Sec. 2, 6.

⁵⁸ “Pentecostal Intolerance,” in Anderson, *Defense*, 310-311; cf., also, Paddock, *Godly Heritage*, 37-47.

⁵⁹ *1919 PAW Minute Book*, Article 6, Sec. 8; Thomas, *Defense*, 11.

This was, indisputably, a monumental loss for the integrated PAW and its vision of interracial unity. Although Lawson does not appear to have directly opposed the interracial effort, the schism profoundly impacted it on two levels. First, Lawson's rejection of Haywood's leadership and role in the venture had far reaching implications, damaging and weakening his position with Blacks and Whites alike, but especially those Whites who might be seeking, for example, proverbial 'excuses,' or 'kinks in the armor,' in order to minimize, or even sabotage, the arrangements.

Secondly, it presented the first serious Oneness competition to the PAW, other than independency, and that from an 'all-Black,' COGIC-like Oneness alternative. Obviously, the challenges to the interracial aspirations of the PAW came in both 'black and White,' which may be the most intriguing aspect of the paradox of Lawson's withdrawal.

Many, like Karl Smith in Columbus, joined Lawson, under the auspices of the "Church of Christ of the Apostolic Faith," with Smith, in 1920, becoming its first Secretary.⁶⁰ Another Columbus convert, now legendary in Oneness circles, Smallwood Williams, was also Spirit filled under Smith's ministry, in March 1919, before Lawson's actual resignation. Williams became a central COOLJC figure, having established an immensely successful church in Washington, D.C. beginning in 1927. In 1957 he withdrew from COOLJC to form his own organization, Bible Way Churches of Our Lord Jesus Christ World Wide.⁶¹ These two Lawson-related groups alone rival the size and

⁶⁰ Lawson eventually incorporated these churches in 1930, changing the name, at that time, to "Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith, Inc." Smith, though, returned to the PAW in 1925, shortly after which, with the elevation of Haywood to Chairman, he was elected Secretary of the PAW.

⁶¹ Smith, *Devout Man*, 23; *Pentecostal Apostolic Fellowship Crusade*, Robert C. Spellman, ed. (COOLJC/BW, 1989), 10, 13, 15-18.

expansion of the PAW, with COOLJC and BW currently comprising, approximately, 1.4 million members, worldwide.⁶²

5.6 The PAW Ministerial Composition by 1920

Indianapolis and the Midwest had quickly become a major epicenter of Oneness Pentecostalism, due largely to the efforts of Haywood. The original PAW's interracial diversity of Hispanic, Black, and White ministers was in place for twelve years, from 1906 through 1918, and, with the interracial leadership criteria of full integration, initiated in 1919 with the Doak-Haywood era, the 'new' PAW actually intensified these earlier commitments for a period of another six years, until the end of 1924.

Inasmuch as a picture is worth a thousand words, then the wide-angle photograph of the October 1919 PAW Convention in Indianapolis is immensely significant. The photograph shows a packed auditorium, including the side balconies, with an evenly mixed distribution of Blacks and Whites. Of even greater significance, the PAW leadership, which had packed the platform of Tomlinson Hall, was evenly mixed racially, as well.⁶³ But this picture had certainly not come easily.

Indianapolis Oneness Pentecostalism, as much as any thing else, exemplified the extent of Haywood's impact on the entire movement by the end of 1919. In addition to his top leadership role and the relocation of the headquarters, with a total of 59 ministers, Indianapolis also had the largest concentration of PAW ministers of any city in the U.S. Ancestry records indicate that 63% of these were White and 37% were Black, and a considerable number of the White ministers were associated with Haywood's ministry, as

⁶² *World Christian Encyclopedia*, Barrett, ed., 783, accurately lists BW with 600,600 in 1000 churches, but the figures are worldwide, with approximately half in the U.S. But Barrett is not reporting current numbers for COOLJC, since official data is sparse. Nevertheless, COOLJC has the larger constituency of, approximately, 800,000, with 600 U.S. churches and 700 abroad, see, *COOLJC International General Annual Convocation Minute Book and Ministerial Record of the Seventy-Ninth Session (1998-1999) thru (2009-2010)* (New York: COOLJC, 1999-2009).

⁶³ Bundy, "Haywood," in *Portraits*, 249; Tyson, *Chalices*, 22-221.

were most of the African American ministers, many working in missions throughout the state.⁶⁴

Los Angeles, by comparison, had only 41 of California's 99 ministers. Though California had 15.4% of the total PAW ministry, it took second place behind Indiana's total of 100 ministers. The main reason for California's decrease was that it was able to retain only 14% of its pre-merger ministry, whereas Indiana retained 55%. Oakland, though, with 29 ministers, now emerged as the third largest Oneness center, due to Morse's highly successful 'missionary school.'⁶⁵

Texas, Ohio, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri and Illinois had the largest concentration of churches and ministers, following Indiana and California. But they were scattered broadly throughout the rural areas, mostly, rather than concentrated in one city or another, deterring, initially, the possibility of the establishment of Oneness centers. In Texas, for example, 56 ministers were located in 30 different cities, in Ohio, 46 in 18 cities, Arkansas, 41 in 16 cities, Louisiana, 40 in 23 cities, Missouri, 36 in 17 cities, and Illinois, 26 in 10 cities.

Except for the Ohio cities of Cleveland and Akron, both with seven ministers, all other cities and towns reported less than seven ministers. Walnut Springs, Texas, Merryville, Louisiana, and Hot Springs, Eureka Springs, and Truman, Arkansas each reported six ministers. Nevertheless, these eight largest states, western, southern, and Midwestern, contained 69% of all the 1919 PAW ministers. The only other cities with sizeable concentrations of ministers were Boston (17), New York (15), and St. Paul (15), with Louisville, St. Louis, and Chicago each having eight ministers.

The 1920's had hardly begun when the regional strength of the southern region, a factor which would soon play the crucial role in the surfacing of the interracial issues in

⁶⁴ See, the *1919-1920 PAW Minute Book*, 37 White, 22 African American.

⁶⁵ Compare the *1917 PAW Minute Book* and *1919 PAW Minute Book*.

the movement, was already becoming obvious with 39% of all PAW ministers hailing from the south.⁶⁶ Texas, in particular, had emerged as a dominant center with the third highest number of PAW ministers, followed closely by Arkansas and Louisiana.

The previous format which listed women ministers with the designation “Miss’y” was discontinued, but, comparable to the pre-merger PAW, 211 or 30% of the 704 total PAW ministers were women preachers. A quarter of these, 56 women ministers, were the wives of male PAW ministers, indicating that 16% of the PAW ministers were husband-wife teams. Uniquely, 12 of the women ministers, including R. C. Lawson’s wife, Carrie T. Lawson, in New York City, were designated as “Miss’y,” perhaps by request. The role of women as preachers had certainly surfaced as a central issue for Lawson.

5.7 Interracial Adaptation

Apparently, many of the ministers, and even leaders, of the General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies, such as S. C. McClain and O. F. Fauss, had not even heard of the largely western, early Pentecostal Assemblies of the World by 1917.⁶⁷ McClain, born in Madison, Georgia, 1889, became an Arkansas school teacher. He later worked from about 1917-1920 in Opperman’s Pentecostal Literary and Bible School. In 1919 he married Bessie A. (Sheets) Rodgers, widow of Indianapolis mission pastor Joe Rodgers. He became a prominent southern Bible teacher, a pastor in Fort Smith, Arkansas and then Albuquerque, New Mexico, as well as the author of the popular book, *Highlights in Church History: Student’s Handbook of Facts in Church History*. McClain, a White

⁶⁶ See, *1919-1920 PAW Minute Book*, representing 641 U.S. ministers and 400 churches. The south was balanced by the strength of the north and Midwest (33%), the west (18%), and northeast (10%). Of a total of 704 PAW ministers 9% were either missionaries or Canadian. Nearly 70% of the U. S. ministers of the PAW were in eight states: IN (100), CA (99), TX (56), OH (46), AR (41), LA (40), MO (36), and IL (26).

⁶⁷ McClain, *Seek First*, 49-50, and Fauss, *What God Hath Wrought*, 202.

PAW minister, stated in his memoirs regarding the interracial fellowship of the period: “I thought it was wonderful.”⁶⁸

On the other hand, in reference to attending the 1920 PAW Convention in Indianapolis, McClain admitted that the interracial meetings had taken some getting “used to it.”⁶⁹ Yet McClain was quickly converted from a lifetime mentality of social segregation to viewing integration as “wonderful.” “I had never seen White and colored people associate on the same level,” he wrote. In spite of problems inherent in such a statement, a wide-eyed transformation was, in fact, in progress. “For the first time in my life,” celebrates McClain, “I sat in church services and then at the dining table side by side with colored people.”⁷⁰

Significantly, only approximately 18% of the 1919 PAW ministerial roster of the PAW was African American by this time, although the numbers were increasing rapidly. Haywood, therefore, had been elected, and the interracial era inaugurated, with a PAW ministerial constituency comprised of a *White majority* and a Black minority.⁷¹ Haywood’s esteem was only further enhanced by these demonstrations of honor and respect, which served, as well, to attract African Americans in even greater numbers.⁷²

As surprising as it may seem, only about 20 African American ministers, including Haywood, made the journey from the ‘pre-merger’ 1917 PAW to the merged 1919 PAW (1919). Therefore, it must be concluded that the majority of the growing number of African American Oneness ministers, including Haywood’s assistant in Indianapolis, Samuel. N. Hancock, had simply not joined the PAW prior to the merger, but rushed to do so only after the 1918 merger.

⁶⁸ McClain, *Seek First*, 68.

⁶⁹ McClain, *Seek First*, 68, 11.

⁷⁰ McClain, *Seek First*, 61, 72.

⁷¹ Cf., Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 195, suggesting, for 1918, an estimated Black “constituency” of 25-30%; *1919 PAW Minute Book*, 11.

⁷² Cf. Garrett, *Haywood*, 135.

A comparative analysis of the 1920 U.S. Census records for “race” with that of the 1919-1920 PAW ministerial roster indicates that the number of Black ministers at that time was not more than 18%, or 125 out of 704 ministers, concentrated in the cities of Indianapolis, Los Angeles, New York, Boston, Louisville, St. Louis, Baltimore, Grand Rapids, Cleveland, Chicago, Dayton, and Washington, D.C. A few were also in the south, especially in Texas, as well as the northern states of Ohio, New Jersey, and Kansas.⁷³

5.8 The Increasing Black Ministerial Composition of the PAW

The unavoidable conclusion seems to be that E. W. Doak actually played a rather minor role in the emergence of the Oneness movement. But he was elevated to leadership at a time in which the dynamic of influence within Oneness Pentecostalism was *shifting*—from the West to the Midwest and to South. Certainly, after Opperman decided to close the Eureka Springs school in 1920 and relocated away from Arkansas, the south was temporarily less cohesively centralized. Nevertheless, the dominant southern center of leadership was shifting further south, into Texas and Louisiana.⁷⁴

Because Doak did not pastor a church, Haywood, as secretary, published official requests for financial assistance on his behalf. “G. T. Haywood asks nothing for his service,” he added, “as his assembly is capable of caring for him.”⁷⁵ But, in contrast, Frank Ewart was, obviously, an extremely successful pastor of a Los Angeles church, where, in fact, Doak also lived. Doak possibly even attended Ewart’s assembly. Unless Ewart himself specifically refused the top leadership of the PAW in 1918, it is of considerable interest that he was not their choice for the position of chairman.

⁷³ *1919 PAW Minute Book*, 11.

⁷⁴ McClain, *Seek First*, 62.

⁷⁵ G. T. Haywood, “The Sixth Annual Convention of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World at Indianapolis, Ind.,” *The Blessed Truth*, October 1, 1921, vol. 6, no. 10, 1.

Undoubtedly, Ewart had been at the fore of leadership in the emergence of the movement and throughout its earliest development. In fact Ewart played the key role in promoting and establishing Oneness Pentecostalism across the country. But even if he did intentionally defer to Doak for leadership, it is not known on what grounds he did so, since so little is known of Doak's actual qualifications.

Therefore, whether Ewart was overlooked or withdrew his name from top leadership consideration, his withdrawal from the PAW, a short time later, in 1920, was a rather bewildering development, contributing further to a temporarily diminished western region influence within the early PAW. Yet he had been serving, for many years, in the equivalent position of PAW "General Elder." Reed speculates that doctrinal issues, a "low profile" demeanor, or perhaps general disinterest may explain Ewart's decision to withdraw.⁷⁶

Except for his withdrawal, little suggests organizational disinterest, and he was more a centrist, than otherwise, theologically. He argued, for example, for the equivalence of "identification" and salvation: "This then is substantially what baptism... really means," he explained. "This is God's way to grant *remission* of sins. Every place in the New Testament that baptism is preached or commanded it is specifically stated that it is for the *remission* of sins, because we are thus *identified* with him in his death, which cancels or *remits* the entire debt, and sets us free."⁷⁷

Unlike Doak, Haywood's influence continued to increase significantly, among both Blacks and Whites. In a rather astounding development, the number of African

⁷⁶ 1919 PAW *Minute Book*, 10; Reed, *In Jesus' Name*, 211, 196, 197, n. 64, and 191; *Meat in Due Season* was not listed as a PAW periodical by 1920; By 1921, Ewart had begun a new publication, *The Herald of the King*, see, *The Witness of God*, Andrew Urshan, ed., "News," vol. 2, 19th edition, July 1921, 9; Glenn Cook withdrew in 1917, George Studd in 1923.

⁷⁷ Frank Ewart, "Identification With Christ," *Meat in Due Season*, June 1916, vol. 1, no. 13, 4; italics added.

American PAW ministers by 1925 increased to approximately 500 or 47% of the total—four times the number of Black ministers just four years earlier. The number of White ministers, by comparison, was about 554, or 53%. Therefore, another shift was occurring, in addition to the regional changes—a shift in the racial complexity and balance of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.⁷⁸ And these statistics indicate a slightly decreased, rather than increased, number of White ministers from 1919-1924.

Even in 1919, half of the top PAW leadership was African American, although only 18% of the ministerial constituency at the time was Black, and 18% of the ‘board’ leadership, that is, three out of seventeen, was also African American.⁷⁹

The estimation of PAW historian James L. Tyson regarding the interracial union of this period is that it was “more than symbolic,” a genuine and “determined effort” to “promote racial harmony.” This “bold and courageous move,” as Tyson called it, by the Oneness Pentecostals was not an effort supported merely by the North, for significant support could also be found in the southern periodicals.⁸⁰

To borrow, therefore, from Nelson’s evaluation of the earlier interracial Azusa revival, these accomplishments within the PAW were nothing short of a “surprising historical breakthrough,” established by design, in spite of the earlier abandonment of such a vision throughout much of the broader movement.⁸¹ The failure and sting of prejudice which dominated in the difficult developments in the Assemblies of God simply

⁷⁸ In lieu of 1924 rosters, the totals are based on the (pre-schism) *1923-24 PAW Minute Book* and the (post-schism) *1926-27 PAW Minute Book*, accounting, of course, for the 10% of White ministers remaining with the PAW after the 1924 schism.

⁷⁹ R. C. Lawson (New York City), although he was to shortly withdraw from the PAW by year’s end, F. I. Douglas (Louisville), and J. M. Turpin (Baltimore), see, *1919 PAW Minute Book*, 10.

⁸⁰ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 195; see, for example, *The Pentecostal Messenger*, official paper in Louisiana, and *The Blessed Truth* in Arkansas. Cf., *The Pentecostal Messenger*, Kinder, LA, H. L. Henderson, editor-in-chief, “Divisions, What For?,” W. R. Loden, office editor, October 1, 1919, 3; *The Pentecostal Messenger* soon merged with *The Blessed Truth*, see, Fauss, *What God Hath Wrought*, 108.

⁸¹ Nelson, “Black Face of Church Renewal,” 180-184.

motivated them all the more to work toward the guarantee of success in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.

Unfortunately, Doak did not bear the marks of assertive leadership or vision casting for the new organization, especially with respect to the immense interracial undertaking upon which the PAW had embarked. The initiation of such a “bold and courageous move” demanded an equally bold, equally courageous plan and commitment, if it were to stand up to the challenges, and overwhelming odds, against its success. But success in terms of organizational expansion, in the both the U.S. and abroad, was being achieved, with 67% all-inclusive ministerial and missionary growth from 1919 to 1924, climbing to a total of 1054 ministers.

In the top leadership, Doak and Haywood maintained their positions as Chairman and Secretary, but twice during this era the ‘vice-chairman’ position alternated between Schooler and Opperman. Alexander R. Schooler, like Lawson and Hancock, was an early Haywood convert, who became a successful pastor in Cleveland, Ohio. He was also, like Lawson, a prolific songwriter, and had 13 hymns which appeared in Haywood’s 1926 *Bridegroom Songs*. By 1923 Schooler was publishing, for an undetermined period of time, a periodical called *Christian Unity*.

As would be expected, this growth also brought substantial increases in the number of members on the PAW “Board of Executive Elders,” which, during this period, increased from 17 to 29. However, although the substantial ministerial growth had been African American, from 18% to nearly half, African American “Board” representation only increased from 3 to between 6 and 8, or to 21-28%.

African Americans on the Board included Dunlop Chenault (San Antonio), Herbert Davis (Leavenworth), Guy Jameson (Cleveland and D. C.), F. I. Douglas (Louisville), Joseph Turpin (Baltimore), and, perhaps, one or two others. If the curious

halt in the growth of the number of White ministers is an accurate depiction, it may represent a period of White dissatisfaction due to such issues as interracial organization and independency factors.

5.9 Distribution of Oneness Pentecostal Churches by 1924

Paramount to a consideration of the whirl of events leading up to the issues regarding race which were dividing the PAW is a proper appreciation of the regional differences toward the commitment to interracial success. It was the size differential between the south and the other regions which most impacted the changing attitudes toward its earlier interracial vision. The regional distribution of Oneness churches by 1924 explains the increasing dominance of the southern region over the varying issues which were both surfacing within and confronting Oneness Pentecostalism.

The early spread of the movement in the U.S. from 1924 to 1930 included a number of varied Hispanic, Black, and White churches in twenty five known U.S. organizations as well as the vast independent Oneness circles of networked fellowship. Black Oneness Pentecostalism was comprised of the more formally structured ministerial union of the integrated PAW, the similarly structured Black COOLJC, and at least nine other separate smaller Black groups.⁸² COOLJC and the nine Black groups, apart from the PAW, represented about 180 churches by 1924.

Strong feelings of ‘independency,’ though, were definitely impacting the movement, especially in the west-northwest region and in the south. For example, many in the south were said to consider the election of organizational leaders the equivalent of “POPEISM.” In October 1919 *The Blessed Truth*, for the benefit of a large number of independent southern ministers, attempted to explain that the PAW, though an organized

⁸² See, Chapter Seven, Section 7.4 Expansion of Early Oneness Pentecostalism Worldwide.

body, was not going to “put his servants under a bondage that will work a hindrance to the gospel.”⁸³

The 1919 PAW roster demonstrates that there were no Hispanic ministers, at the time, affiliated with the organization, having remained integrally tied to the work in Mexico until 1925. The expanding Hispanic churches in the U.S., therefore, were not technically independent. After 1925 U.S. Hispanic ministers continued to affiliate with the PAW until after 1930, although they had organized loosely in the United States themselves. The majority of these Hispanic churches were in California and Texas.

An important factor in the overall development of the movement is the recognition that, at this point, almost the entirety of the continued ‘independent’ Oneness movement was White. These independent Oneness U.S. White congregations approximated the total number of organized churches, with independency strong enough, even later, that many never assimilated into the emerging organized bodies.

Nevertheless, an estimated 400 U.S. churches had joined the PAW by 1924, approximately 44% of which were African American. The growing list of 1054 PAW ministers in the period of late 1923 and early 1924 represented, approximately, 500 African American ministers in 180 churches and 554 White ministers, including missionaries, in 220 churches. The integrated PAW, together with COOLJC and the separate Black Oneness groups, represented nearly 580 churches.⁸⁴

5.9.1 Centers of U. S. Black Oneness Expansion

The large majority of the African American Oneness churches and ministers were concentrated in the Midwest, the north, and the northeast, including a growing eastern

⁸³ W. R. Loden, “Divisions, What For?” *The Pentecostal Messenger*, October 1, 1919, 2; *The Blessed Truth*, D. C. O. Opperman, ed., “Editorial,” October 1, 1919, vol. 4, no. 18, 2. At first, only a few of the Hispanic ministers, probably leaders, actually had PAW credentials, demonstrating the ‘loose’ nature of the affiliation of the Hispanic churches to the PAW.

⁸⁴ See, *1923-1924 Minutes of the General Assembly of the P.A. of W. Convention*.

concentration of COOLJC churches. The largest centers for Black Oneness Pentecostalism were Indianapolis, Detroit, Los Angeles, Chicago, Louisville, Baltimore, New York, Boston, Columbus, Cleveland, and St. Louis.

Perhaps one of the best examples of this dynamic of African American Oneness growth and success is that of the north region assembly of Samuel N. Hancock in Detroit. Sometime before 1900 the Hancock family had moved to Indianapolis where he married in 1907, was Spirit filled at Haywood's church in 1912, and entered the ministry in 1914. Hancock was G. T. Haywood's assistant until 1920 when he took Levi Miles' mission in Detroit. Rapid expansion resulted in the work becoming a premiere PAW congregation, with Detroit a leading African American Oneness center, all within little more than a few years.⁸⁵

The initial impact of White Oneness Pentecostalism in the northeast was in Maine and further north into New Brunswick, Canada. In the west California was the center of the movement, boasting essentially a who's who of the early movement, but there were also smaller early northwest concentrations in Oregon, then spreading into Washington and Idaho, as well as southwest into Arizona.

Clearly, though, these western, northwestern, and northeastern regions did not keep pace with the Midwestern and the southern expansion. Yet interracial unity continued as an interregional high priority, whether predominately Black and/or White, well into the 1920's. And as Indiana and Indianapolis emerged as the new epicenter by

⁸⁵ 1900 U.S. Census, Indianapolis, IN, 2B; Samuel Nathaniel Hancock (1883-1963) was born in Adair, KY, just north of Owensboro. His wife, Bertha (Valentine), died before 1914, and he remarried Annie W. Williams, see, *Indiana Marriage Collection, 1800-1941*, Marion County, Indiana, 26 Dec 1907 and 28 Sept 1914, and 1910 U.S. Census, Indianapolis, IN, 14A. Hancock was in Indianapolis at least until early 1920, see, 1920 U.S. Census, Indianapolis, IN, 17B; *WWI Registration*, September 12, 1918, Order# 3111. Hancock withdrew from the PAW in 1957 to form the Pentecostal Churches of the Apostolic Faith, currently with 246 U.S. churches centered in IL (26), MI (21), IN (16) (as well as MS), and OH (14), see, www.pcaf.net (accessed April 8, 2010).

1919, with Black and White churches dotting the state, the Oneness growth in other Midwestern areas, especially Ohio and Illinois, were developing similarly. Although perhaps not generally an easy task in this period, a few of the early African American Oneness leaders, such as Haywood and Lawson, were uniquely adaptable to ministry in completely White settings and dominantly White regions.

Even in mostly White segments of the movement in the north Haywood's influence is readily recognized as, for example, in the initial revival resulting in St. Paul becoming an early center for Minnesota and Wisconsin. Scores were rebaptized in his July 1915 St. Paul camp meeting and ensuing revival which attracted early leaders such as Charles P. Nelson and J. P. Rullen.⁸⁶ Canadian leader Frank Small was even rebaptized there at their October convention. In December Haywood preached the Ottawa Convention in Canada in which R. E. McAlister, his brother Harvey, and their wives were all rebaptized.⁸⁷

5.9.2 Increasing Southern Dominance

African American Oneness churches in the south were far fewer than their expanding northern counterparts, even contrasting Mason's COGIC expansion of African American Pentecostals centered in Arkansas and Mississippi.⁸⁸ Therefore, the nearly 300 PAW churches that were scattered throughout eight southern states by 1924 were mostly White churches. But White Oneness itinerant evangelists in the south, unlike Black

⁸⁶ Cf., *1919 PAW Minute Book*, 21-22; Johnson, "First Jesus' Name Pentecostal Church," *Historical News*, 2; Reinking, "Nelson," *Herald*, 20. The photograph of the camp meeting does not include Haywood, although he is visible with a small number of African Americans a considerable distance behind the group. Haywood is mentioned, but photographed, in the story regarding Saturday camp meeting baptism in the adjacent Mississippi which appeared in the *Sunday Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, July 1915.

⁸⁷ "Pastor Frank Small Baptized," *Meat in Due Season*, December 1915, vol. 1, no. 9, 4; Larden, *Heritage*, 34; Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 98; "Editorial Notes," *Meat in Due Season*, December 1915, vol. 1, no. 9, 3. McAlister's baptism was also reported in the non-extant periodical *A Living Word* which was evidently published briefly in St. Paul by H. O. Scott, the source of Ewart's quotes, *Phenomenon*, 98-99, 96.

⁸⁸ See, Appendix B: Profiles of Early Oneness Pentecostal Pioneers.

ministers who were more restricted, were able to easily crisscross back and forth between states, north and south, so that White assemblies sprang up all over rural Indiana, Illinois, and, especially, the south.

The four southern states clearly dominant in the PAW by 1924 were Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Missouri. As Arkansas began to fall behind Louisiana in growth its leadership edge in the movement began to wane. During this period Louisiana was quickly becoming one the largest areas of growth for the movement. Arkansas, on the other hand, had maintained its early leadership edge in the south due largely to Goss' important early role and Opperman's influence via the college in Eureka Springs and *The Blessed Truth*. But Goss left Hot Springs for Picton, Ontario in 1919 and Opperman left the state in 1920 and closed the Bible school.

The leverage of dominance in the southern region which began to rival the movement's combined strength in the Midwest and the west was guaranteed by the unparalleled growth of Texas into the largest Oneness region anywhere in the U.S. For some time, though, with the shift of leadership away from Eureka Springs and with the region's widely scattered churches, Texas and the entire southern region were apparently without a clearly coalesced center. Camp meetings, nevertheless, quickly evolved into early state centers of influence, and in Texas, for example, Dallas emerged as a strong early hub.⁸⁹

5.10 Conclusion

One of the most significant victories of the period up to 1925 was the surrender of the PAW by its Trinitarian majority to it Oneness leadership, White ministers from the GAAA who were joined by an influx of previously unaffiliated Oneness preachers. The

⁸⁹ Dallas was, initially, the earliest growth center in the state, with churches in Walnut Springs, Clebourne, Georges Creek, Newcastle, Alvaredo, Jacksboro, and Grand Prairie.

all-Oneness PAW would at least begin the process of anchoring the young movement within the context of its roots as it finally entered a brief period of stabilization. Not only were hundreds of additional churches attracted to the invigorated PAW which had embraced afresh an interracial posture, but it captured the attention of the entire Pentecostal movement by expanding that vision to its leadership structure.

Haywood and the majority of originators of the PAW interracial structure believed that Pentecostal power via the crimson stream of blood would wash away the color line. Only then could the church experience the restored model of racial harmony intended by the Spirit. Although it was a belief held in tension with the realities of the developing Oneness movement and society-at-large, the PAW had committed to such an ideal from its inception. After 1916 it would not survive another full decade, due to its substantial unraveling in 1924 with the separatist actions of southern region Oneness leaders.

Yet those years of hard fought battles and interracial successes were not merely an interlude to later Oneness history. They were the priority development of the restorative vision of both Black and White, of African American fortitude, of G. T. Haywood's gifted guidance, and of a broad-based White cultural resistance of conviction. The strengthening of this vision in the Frazee and Doak eras resulted in spite of turbulent episodes within the PAW including the emergence of both the Finished Work and Oneness movements, and the Frazee withdrawal. The interracial commitment was sufficiently strong in the early PAW as to include both its worship and leadership.

In spite of the setback for the African American side of the equation suffered by the loss of Lawson's support of the interracial PAW effort, Black Oneness Pentecostalism expanded rapidly within the PAW and without. So successful were the interracial efforts within the united movement that the African American composition of the PAW actually began to outpace that of the White ministerial constituency. For a time all was well

above the surface of the expansive growth of the movement, but beneath the surface these successes were paradoxically working against all earlier aspirations of racial unity.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Oneness Pentecostalism, as explored in the following chapter, could not survive the weakening of interracial commitment resulting during the Doak era with the display of regional strength from the burgeoning southern Oneness movement. Instead, the earlier era of high profile rejections, defections, and denominational abandonment, which had given way to the efforts of racial equality and an interracial body, yielded to cultural racism and gave way to intra-Oneness racial division and organizational splintering on a broad scale by 1925. But the interracial victories had been genuine and formidable, nonetheless, and in many way unprecedented and not without applicability within broader contexts.

CHAPTER SIX

Redrawing the Color Line in Early Oneness Pentecostalism (1923-1925)

6.1 Early 20th Century U.S. Racial Context

The complexities of the racial issues following emancipation within the American cultural context of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were rooted in the tremendous failures of the Reconstruction era. Neither society nor Christianity provided an adequate response to the escalating racism in culture, and the other-worldly counter-cultural impulse within early Pentecostalism was inconsistently and only sporadically applied to the issue of race.

Initially the Oneness movement reacted to these failures within the culture and the broader movement with renewed restorative tenacity in championing an interracial ideology of its own spearheaded in the PAW. But by 1924 this ideological framework collapsed as the PAW splintered into multiple race-based organizational centers mirroring the diverse segregationist mentality which permeated the broader culture. Yet the interracial impulse had radically shaped and defined the early Oneness Pentecostal movement in a myriad of ways, a comprehension of which is crucial to its early origins and development.

Long after the issue of American slavery and emancipation the societal racial issue continued as one of the foremost concerns of the culture, but, unfortunately, during post-Civil War Reconstruction, emancipation essentially devolved into an increasing abandonment of racial justice by 1900. What has been depicted as a racial “dark cloud” by Edward J. Blum has been vividly detailed historically in his 2005 *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898*. Blum places considerable blame for this condition, not only upon the political and economic

expediency of reuniting with the south, but upon White Christian leadership which backed away from their earlier commitments for Black equality.¹

Instead of equality, “Jim Crow” laws, another pejorative term for ‘colored,’ were implemented for the purpose of segregation and control, which were not ruled unconstitutional and removed until 1954. The premise of the Jim Crow limitations and racial bias was predicated on the fallacy of White superiority and of Black inferiority. “They lost the battle for America’s identity,” Blum concludes, “with far less hope than they had a generation earlier.”²

Especially pertinent to the discussion of race division within early Pentecostalism is Blum’s extended discussion in *Reforging the White Republic* regarding the nuanced impact of Evangelicalism and particularly of D. L. Moody. According to Blum Moody’s race based segregation was the primary religious influence which gave “legitimacy to Jim Crow” laws in the last quarter of the 19th century, in spite of Christianity’s previous resolute intention, via the long fought Civil War, to defend African American interests and equality.

Moody is also blamed for playing “an important role in justifying the northern rejection of radical Reconstruction” by not only accepting racial segregation but also contributing to an “amnesia regarding the Civil War” and its purpose.³

His intense emphasis on reconciliation and reunion had disastrous consequences for any hopes for radical inclusiveness. Unlike the northern missionaries of radical Reconstruction who prized inter-racial worship and braved social ostracism because of their religious commitments to civil rights, Moody craved unity among Whites at all cost.⁴

¹ Edward J. Blum, *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

² Blum, *Reforging the White Republic*, 3, 15, 18, 120ff, 93ff, 142-144, 244; see, also, Douglass’ response, “Oration of Frederick Douglass,” *American Missionary*, 39, no. 6 (June 1885): 165.

³ Blum, *Reforging the White Republic*, 13, 119; see, 119-145.

⁴ Blum, *Reforging the White Republic*, 141.

6.2 Black Perspectives Regarding 20th Century Racial Issues

Two critically important African American spokesmen during this period who influenced Black perspective in uniquely differing ways were Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. Washington's impact will be considered in course, but the pervasive influence to the present of DuBois on Black ideological perspective must be noted in the initial understanding of African American responses to the 20th century racial issues.

DuBois' landmark work, *The Souls of Black Folk*, quickly became the single most insightful manifesto on race ever written, in which the Black reality was brilliantly depicted as a "double-consciousness" which results in the "negro" only seeing "himself through the revelation of the other world," i.e. the White world. Therefore, DuBois argued, the Black response is "guarded" rather than self assertive and strident, and he or she develops survival skills amidst the angst of camouflage. "He is daily tempted to be silent and wary," yet "seeking in the great night a new religious ideal."⁵ This veiled reality, or way of speaking, conceals as it interprets, so as to express one reality through another, via story, sarcasm, irony, and so forth. Although other views, such as Washington's, deeply influenced the era's Black ideology, DuBois' insights came to revolutionize African American perceptions.

The Jim Crow world at the turn of the twentieth century was quickly reinforced by the country's economic woes, especially in the south. "Given a declining agricultural economy," Baer and Singer have noted, "Blacks became an easy target for White hostility." Laws were contrived in the south for providing and controlling "a manageable and inexpensive labor force." In fact, Baer and Singer point out, socio-economic factors

⁵ See, also, Section 6.5.1; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903; 1973 reprint, Herbert Aptheker), 3, 204, 205, 206; Stanley Crouch and Playthell Benjamin, *Reconsidering the Souls of Black Folk* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2002), 8; cf. Dolan Hubbard, *The Souls of Black Folk: One Hundred Years Later* (Columbia, MO: University of Columbia Press, 2003), 2, 132, 138-139, 161.

of the period 1890 to 1925, with the “transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism,” and the appearance of “populism,” “labor-capital class conflict,” and “progressivism,” were actually posited by sociologist Robert Mapes Anderson in his *Vision of the Disinherited* as the primary causative factors in the emergence of Pentecostalism.⁶

Undoubtedly, in spite of the over emphasis of the socio-economic in Anderson’s theory, the economic pressure did impact race developments negatively, and African Americans responded to southern economic and racial circumstances by migrating north. A great deal was changing.⁷ During or right after the war, and certainly by 1919, a half million African Americans relocated, creating a host of new racial challenges.⁸

From the perspective of the religious aspect in Black experience Cheryl Sanders has suggests, in her extremely perceptive work, *Saints in Exile*, that an “exile,” or “stranger” motif, best captures the hyphenated experience of the “African-American” Christian. In *Saints in Exile*, earlier referenced regarding the Black roots of Pentecostalism, she insightfully analyzes varied approaches to issues of race by African American intellectuals, summarizing their views and impact, toward possible application within what she terms the Sanctified Church.

Sanders concludes that, while African American Christians must, certainly, deal with racism, they must do so “without having one’s own identity totally shaped by it.”⁹ Within this context Sanders makes a case for going “a step beyond” Dubois, the

⁶ Baer and Singer, *African American Religion*, 224.

⁷ During the summer of 1919, for example, more than a dozen race riots took place throughout the country, but as in the Chicago riots influenced by DuBois’ journalistic support, African Americans were no longer passive, but were, instead, resisting and arming themselves. See, W. E. B. DuBois, “Let Us Reason Together,” *The Crisis*, 18 (September 1919): 231.

⁸ Baer and Singer, *African American Religion*, 38, 44; see, also, Harold M. Baron, “The Demand for Black Labor,” in *Racial Conflict, Discrimination and Power*, William Barclay, Krishna Kumar, and Ruth P. Simms, eds. (New York: AMS, 1976), 105.

⁹ Sanders, *Saints in Exile*, 118, 125.

“dominant paradigm” for Blacks and emphasizes that “pressing for acceptance by Whites” and merely responding “to White social context” as inadequate. She also views Tinney and Lovett as following Dubois in lauding “liberation theology,” which she suggests is not accepted in Black churches. Tinney’s view is additionally characterized as having a “strong sense of victimization by American racism.”¹⁰

A more recent contribution to the issue of race is that of Duke University professor J. Kameron Carter in his work *Race: A Theological Account*. The unique emphasis from this perspective begins with racism as the “core theological problem of our times,” but specifically references what he perceives as Christianity’s historical attempt to embrace an inferior-superior motif to color. That is, Carter recognizes “Whiteness” as perceived in Christian history as superior, as over against especially Jewish reality and history. He states: “My fundamental contention is that modernity’s racial imagination has its genesis in the theological problem of Christianity’s quest to sever itself from its Jewish roots.”¹¹

Carter conceptualizes this racial problem, essentially, as the fostering upon the Jews the category of a “race group.” Racism, always about power, caused Jewish suppression by means of theologically replacing an inferior with the superior, i.e., Israel with the Church. The cultural imperialism traced by Carter in church history parallels that of the last century, for example, in that it involves Black identity, reminiscent of Dubois, shaped and constituted via White identity. Certainly, much can be derived from Carter’s analogies which have application both within the early Pentecostal context, but certainly of interest within the Jewish Christian theological emphasis of Oneness Pentecostal, in addition to the racial implications.

¹⁰ Sanders, *Saints in Exile*, 124, 119, 121, 108, 110.

¹¹ J. Kameron Carter, *Race: A Theological Account* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5-6, 4; see, also, Christian T. Collins Winn, “Book Review of *Race: A Theological Account*,” in *Pneuma* 32:1 (2010): 133-134.

6.3 History of Racial Division in American Pentecostalism

Critical to a comprehension of the racial realities of early Pentecostalism is a recognition of what Tinney has referred to as the “*a priori* understanding” of its history which was a particular version shaped by varying dominant forces, but especially the all-White Assemblies of God. In such accounts, for example, Seymour was mostly ignored by historians, even as early as B. F. Lawrence’s 1916 account.¹² The impact of the original racial commitments in the Azusa Street revival were such that, according to Nelson, “glossolalia did not appear nearly so dangerous as the revolutionary Christian fellowship.”¹³

“For him,” Hollenweger says of Seymour, “Pentecost meant more than speaking in tongues. It meant to love in the face of hate, to overcome the hatred of a whole nation by demonstrating that Pentecost is something very different from the success-oriented American way of life.”¹⁴ Goff, on the other hand, has characterized this as merely a “brief interracial climate” which symbolized a fellowship strongly desired by Blacks, whether or not reciprocated. This allows for a conclusion which is a polar opposite perception to that of many period historians, suggesting that the interracial impulse was minimal and insignificant.¹⁵ Such a perception, at the very least, is inconsistent with, or ignores, the widely held early interracial vision in Oneness Pentecostalism.

In contrast, African American historian David D. Daniels sees Azusa Street as “the fashioning of a new racial/nonracial identity.” “The new racial identity at the Azusa

¹² Tinney, “Exclusivistic Tendencies,” 34, 35; Nelson, “For Such a Time,” 18, 20.

¹³ Douglas J. Nelson, “The Black Face of Church Renewal,” *Faces of Renewal*, Paul Ebert, ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), 180; cf., Clemmons, *Mason*, 31.

¹⁴ Walter J. Hollenweger, “Priorities in Pentecostal Research: Historiography, Missiology, Hermeneutics and Pneumatology,” in *Experiences in the Spirit: Conference on Pentecostal and Charismatic Research in Europe at Utrecht University, 1989*, Jan A. B. Jongeneel, ed. (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 9.

¹⁵ Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest*, 132.

Street revival looked beyond the racial divide of the era and reflected a racial vocabulary, symbolism, and vision that differed drastically from the dominant society of that day.”¹⁶

“Arguments about one’s *true* history,” Duke University historian Grant Wacker suggests, “are usually struggles between forms of legitimacy, not between legitimacy and illegitimacy.” Just as dominant White forms of the movement “systematically eclipsed” women “in the historical literature,” Wacker notes, the “ritualized” histories served a supposed greater cause, the defense of the dominant position and structures. “One of the more egregious examples, according to Wacker, was that of White racial bias, in which “the influence of secular black culture on White Pentecostalism (such as jazz and folk healing arts) was ignored.”¹⁷

In similar fashion much of the broader movement also ignored the Oneness movement altogether. In fact, the question persists as to whether or not much of the earliest intra-movement animosity toward Oneness Pentecostalism was racially motivated due to its radical stance on integration from the start. Increasingly evangelicalized forms of Pentecostalism distanced themselves from “suspect” forms of the movement, as noted in the following Gerloff discussion with respect to both Black and Oneness segments of Pentecostalism.

“How, then, can we explain why,” she notes, that “Oneness Pentecostalism in general has attracted so little attention in public writing as well as serious academic

¹⁶ David D. Daniels, “God Makes no Differences in Nationality: The Fashioning of a New Racial/Nonracial Identity at the Azusa Street Revival,” in *Enrichment*, Spring 2006, 72. Its interracial vision certainly extended far beyond 312 Azusa Street, impacting both Black and White participants, as illustrated in the history of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.

¹⁷ Grant Wacker, “Bibliography and Historiography of Pentecostalism,” in *DPCM*, Burgess and McGee, eds., 75.

studies?”¹⁸ Gerloff is suggesting a culprit of dual stigmatism which includes the African American element. Therefore, Oneness Pentecostalism was problematic for dominant Pentecostalism from both a racial and theological standpoint, and the “ritualized” historical versions simply wrote the Jesus’ Name accounts ‘out of the story,’ or, as in Rosenior’s depiction of Black Pentecostals, relegated them to mere “footnotes” of history.¹⁹

David Bundy’s descriptive account of the modern movement’s “state of documentation” is applicable here:

As one looks at problems related to the documenting of World Christianity, and as one searches for materials, one is often stunned by how little there is to document the religious and cultural lives of many. This is particularly true of the churches that are composed of persons without access to the structures of social and political power.... In the documentation of the traditions that are ‘other,’ it is important to find ways in which to document a tradition without violating that person’s integrity and without developing an adversarial stance.²⁰

The rejection of Mason’s leadership by the more than 350 ordained White clergy in COGIC, which Clemmons associated with White insistence for “leadership role” power, did not hinder Mason from preaching at the AG organization conference in Hot Springs in 1914 to give them “leave.”²¹ And neither did Mason’s magnanimity alter the

¹⁸ Roswith Gerloff, “Hope of Redemption: The Religious, Cultural and Socio-Political Significance of Oneness (Apostolic) Pentecostalism in Jamaica,” in *Experiences in the Spirit*, Jongeneel, ed., 162, 163.

¹⁹ Derrick R. Rosenior, “Toward Racial Reconciliation: Collective Memory, Myth and Nostalgia in American Pentecostalism,” Parallel Session Papers of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Cleveland, TN, March 2007, 301.

²⁰ David Bundy, “Documenting ‘Oneness Pentecostalism’: A Case Study in the Ethical Dilemmas Posed by the Creation of Documentation,” Summary of Proceedings, Fifty-Third Annual Conference of the American Theological Library Association, June 9-12, 1999, Margaret Tacke Collins, ed., 155, 163.

²¹ Clemmons, *Mason*, 27, 70, 71; see, also, C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 1990), 81.

racial bias which segregated the AG from the Church of God in Christ.²² According to Robeck, although they had been connected with COGIC, these ministers had operated “along segregated lines,” with credentials signed only by their own White ministers.²³

Beginning with the obvious, African Americans were not invited to join the Assemblies of God in 1914 because they were, by intention, simply not welcome to join. African American AG historian Joe Newman, in his recent study of early AG racism, *Race and the Assemblies of God Church*, has concluded that race was, indeed, “the dominant factor,” the unspoken, overriding motivation in the formation of the Assemblies of God. Contrived excuses, as an example, fail to account for “deliberate actions taken by the denominational executives to prevent the ordination of African Americans,” Newman states. In fact, even as late as 1960, less than 10 African Americans were listed by the Assemblies of God.²⁴

Although he passes over the interracial aspects of the Oneness movement within the AG, merely mentioning Haywood and the inter-connected race issues only once, Newman offers a rather pointed assessment of race and AG motivations. “Flower’s words,” he points out, for example, regarding the AG’s earliest racial history, “indicate a paternalistic attitude.” COGIC was not good enough for Whites, Newman notes, because “it did not rise to the level of efficiency, organization, and devotion” necessary for superior men, but, on the other hand, it was just “fine for African Americans.” This was

²² COGIC is now the largest Pentecostal body in the U.S., with more than 5.5 million members. See, Sherry Sherrod DuPree and Herbert C. DuPree, “The Explosive Growth of the African American Pentecostal Church,” in *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches 1993*, Kenneth B. Bedell, ed., (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 8.

²³ Cecil M. Robeck, “The Past: Historical Roots of Racial Unity and Division in American Pentecostalism,” *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal Charismatic Research*, www.pctii.org (accessed August 7, 2010), 11; cf., also, Darrin J. Rodgers, “The Assemblies of God and the Long Journey toward Racial Reconciliation,” *AG Heritage*, 2008, 53-54, 57.

²⁴ Joe Newman, *Race and the Assemblies of God Church* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2007), 87, 9-10; italics added.

exemplified, according to Newman, in the AG's readiness to refer Blacks to COGIC, though not Whites, in its use of racial stereotyping in its literature, such as Black dialect stories, and in the acceptance of "racism and bigotry at the highest levels."²⁵

Howard Kenyon, as well, has emphasized the socio-ethical proclivity for acceptance by the "evangelical community at large," the strong tendency toward social accommodation, and the "acquiescence to the American culture" as the basis for understanding the Assemblies of God racial attitude.²⁶ Again, in spite of being masked by varied theological and societal concerns, the AG racial demeanor contributed to its intolerance of the Oneness position due its expanding Black constituency. Also, Gerloff, incorporating unique oral accounts of the 1916 events as a telling piece of history, has analyzed the AG racial attitudes of the period in relationship to the Oneness movement, emphasizing its ability to appeal to "the disadvantaged."²⁷

²⁵ Newman, *Race*, 78, 74, 90, 97, 98-101, 116, 170.

²⁶ Howard N. Kenyon, "An Analysis of Ethical Issues in the History of the Assemblies of God," Waco, TX, Baylor University Dissertation, 1988, 401, 406, 404.

²⁷ "Socially, the Oneness Pentecostal movement grafted itself into the cultures of the disadvantaged urban poor, a people less inclined than others to follow established authority and more open to 'new revelations,' innovations and changes. Moreover, as also Robert M. Anderson has shown statistically, it drew under its banner a large proportion of Blacks who, together with likeminded White Christians, took the message of Jesus' name as instrument against racial segregation and for interracial togetherness under the Lordship of Jesus Christ....

Monroe R. Saunders ... comments on the 1916 Council: 'Bishop Garfield T. Haywood.... Black, and very Black!... a prince in the Church.... was called upon to defend the doctrine of baptism in Jesus' name.... A man from Georgia, where killing and lynching of Blacks were daily experiences, a White extremist, began to shout at the Blacks: 'I'm from Georgia.' Peter J. R. Bridges from the Eastern States, a Pentecostal Black pioneer, a prolific and convincing speaker,... rose to his feet on the other side: 'I'm Peter Jan Bridgers from New York, and I want you to know that I couldn't care less even if you came from hell!'" See, Gerloff, "Black and Oneness," 87-88.

Saunders founded the First United Church of Jesus Christ Apostolic, Inc., in Baltimore in 1965 as a schism from Randolph Carr's Church of God in Christ Jesus (Apostolic), itself a 1945 schism from the PAW. The FUCJCA's worldwide constituency is approximately 300,000, with its UK body of churches, founded by S. A. Dunn, being the largest Oneness group in that country. Cf., *Directory of African American Religious Bodies*, Wardell J. Payne, ed. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1991), 99,

Of course, the core issues of race continue to persist in Pentecostalism as highlighted in concerns regarding the need for racial reconciliation exemplified in what is referred to as the 1994 Miracle of Memphis. Black and White Pentecostal leaders came together to seek reconciliation remedies and adopted a manifesto with specific points of repentance and commitment which highlighted the impossibility of reconciliation without the confession of guilt. Another result was the formation of a new interracial union of denominations, the Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches of North America, to take the place of the previous all-White Pentecostal Fellowship of North America.²⁸

But even this attempt at racial healing may already be evidencing signs that it has been mere rhetoric and, as in the past, returned to a familiar status quo of racial indifference, passivity, and acquiescence. In addition to the weighty responsibilities of the PCCNA with respect to race, there is also the issue of the exclusion of Oneness churches from its membership, both Black and White, which further limits its potential for meaning racial reconciliation.²⁹ Although reports of its strategy for the future speak of the “wonderful” possibility of interracial “partners,” they have yet to address the issue of Oneness Pentecostal disenfranchisement.³⁰

6.4 Characterizations of Intra-Pentecostal Racism

Referencing the issues of race faced by the Azusa Street mission, Richard Owens has suggested astutely that the elements of exclusion and superiority in early

with a partial U.S. listing for the FUCJCA, and 109, regarding Peter J. F. Bridgers’ PAW leadership.

²⁸ Russell W. West, “A Critical Exploration of the PCCNA’s Rhetorical Vision for Racial Unity: Fighting Pentecostal Racism with Saul’s Armor or David’s Sling?” September 27, 1999, www.pccna.org (accessed August 9, 2010), 1-16; see, also, Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 40; Newman, *Race*, 153; Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., “Racial Reconciliation at Memphis: Some Personal Reflections,” Society for Pentecostal Studies, Toronto, Canada, March 1996.

²⁹ Rosenior, “Racial Reconciliation,” 304.

³⁰ Vinson Synan, “The Future: A Strategy for Reconciliation,” *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal Charismatic Research*, www.pctii.org (accessed August 9, 2010), 7, 9, 12.

Pentecostalism were not only central to the ultimate triumph of racism but the most disturbing elements. Although they have, in the words of Anthea Butler, “tainted the Pentecostal movement in profound ways,” Owens also notes that the “blame is usually ascribed to the ways of the world and not where it belongs.” He suggests, therefore, that culture, which rejected Azusa Street, for example, primarily due to “the mixing of the races and the empowerment of women,” is not ultimately the blame. The real culprit is “the failure of White Pentecostals to overcome the spirit of the age.”³¹

Similarly, Hollenweger has pointed to Lovett’s explanation of the White avoidance of having to deal with the injustices and discriminations which constitute racism, or what he refers to as the “socio-cultural factors that act upon one’s humanity.” Sadly, regardless of the inconsistent inhumanity, it’s much easier to simply close their eyes, act out of denial, offer weak excuses, and justify themselves. Lovett also suggests that a common fatalistic excuse involves putting off and ignoring racial issues “until Jesus comes,” as though only heaven held the needed solutions. Hollenweger adds that in the attempt to assuage guilt and justify lack of remedial action responsibility is relegated to the individual rather than the “churches as a whole.”³²

As Lovett notes, the emphasis on sin in White Holiness churches targets the “personal ethic” of individual holiness, but has clearly failed to translate into the collective body. The result is the failure of the churches “to indict racism in word and deed.” Therefore, as in early Pentecostalism, they have been “virtually silent on sins of the spirit such as racism,” a sin based in pride, but remain “mute on the issue of racism.” In the final analysis Lovett believes that the problem is only intensified by the on-going attempts to “conveniently” conceal racism behind varied forms of denial or the shame of “tokenism.” As is the nature of subterfuge, denial usually works, or that is, covers or

³¹ Owens, *Azusa*, 105, 97-98, 76; Butler, “Walls of Separation,” 1.

³² Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 29, 31.

disguises the real issues. Since racism by definition refuses to share institutional “power and resources,” by “blaming the victim and subjugating persons on the basis of the pigmentation of their skin,” Lovett argues that Whites find it easier to maintain the status quo than to upset the powers that be.³³

Another significant discussion in this regard is that of Dennis Olchholm in *The Gospel in Black and White*. He notes that religious bodies have “constructed an institutional mechanism that plays out the logic” of racism, allowing it to take on “a life of its own” and to block meaningful reconciliation. The single-most pertinent observation regarding the sin of racism, though, is that of Willie James Jennings in his article “Wandering in the Wilderness” which appears in *The Gospel in Black and White*. He observes that the Christian church in the west allows this type of “compliance” with racism due to the sad and disturbing reality that it has remained unable to “mount an adequate theological response” to the problem of racism.³⁴

Amos Yong’s queries regarding global religions in *The Spirit Poured Out On All Flesh* may seem at first glance to be an unlikely context for interacting with issues relative to Oneness Pentecostalism. But the questions pertinent to the application of a pneumatological perspective to the issues of global theology are also related to the issues of racial and theological rejection which impacted the early movement. For example, the premise of both a global pneumatological rationale and that of racial equity as a theological construct is rooted in the “all flesh” Acts theology and the one Spirit, one body Pauline model. Therefore, when the early AG racial mentality rejected African

³³ Leonard Lovett, “The Present: The Problem of Racism in the Contemporary Pentecostal Movement,” *Cyberjournal of Pentecostal Charismatic Research*, www.pctii.org (accessed August 9, 2010), 6, 8, 3, 14.

³⁴ Dennis L. Olchholm, ed., *The Gospel in Black & White: Theological Resources for Racial Reconciliation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997), 20, and Willie James Jennings, “Wandering in the Wilderness: Christian Identity and Theology Between Context and Race,” 37-38, 41.

Americans relationally, it did so only as the antithesis of its own original restorationist construct.

Yong recognizes the long-term ethical and spiritual erosion implicit in such major divisiveness, especially the Black-White divide and the Oneness split and ostracism, are noted by Yong. It not only obviously detracts significantly from the “richer sense” of the Spirit’s work, but from any meaningful vision of Pentecostalism’s role in global theology.³⁵ For precisely the same reason, Oneness Pentecostal rejection of, and estrangement from, the broader Pentecostal movement is equally problematic.

Religious rejection and ostracism are not, of course, remotely comparable to cultural racism, but, in one sense, the AG’s Oneness expulsion did somewhat parallel segregation, at least in the sense that it produced the desired affect—separation from perceived inferiors. In both circumstances separation guarantees not merely a lack of unity, but a complete loss of relationship. Again, from the standpoint of what Yong considers the “pneumatological imagination” and an “intra-Christian ecumenical” vision, a most formidable obstacle is a rigidly divided, superiority based, and race-based Pentecostalism which ostracizes and ignores vast segments of its own.³⁶

Therefore, when Tony Ritchie addresses the issue of divine and/or Pentecostal “fairness” with respect to world religions and the possibilities of realizing a pneumatological potential within Pentecostalism as a starting point, the most obvious hindrance is the preliminary dilemma within Pentecostalism itself, an on-going, routine

³⁵ Yong, *Spirit Poured Out*, 185-186; see, Acts 2:17-18 and 1 Corinthians 12:13.

³⁶ See, Chapter Five, “Oneness and Trinity: Identity, Plurality, and World Theology,” in Yong, *Spirit Poured Out*, 203-234; see, also, Wolfgang Vondey, “Pentecostalism and the Possibility of Global Theology: Implications of Theology of Amos Yong,” in *Pneuma* 28:2 (2006): 289; Roger E. Olson, “A Wind that Swirls Everywhere,” *Christianity Today*, March 2006, 52-54, a summary of Yong’s position.

intra-Pentecostal rejection and ostracism.³⁷ While Yong makes a laudable attempt at reversing the typical out of hand rejection of the Oneness movement, he focuses, nonetheless, on the *non*-pneumatological theological issues of separation, such as its supposed Nestorian implications and the issue of its modalistic theology.³⁸

This seems to set up, perhaps unwittingly, the same acceptability requirements and insider-outsider terms of legitimacy which characterizes Boyd's rejection of the movement partly on the basis of what he perceives as its inadequate view of God's self-revelation, that is, its unwillingness to embrace the idea of ontological divine persons. But Boyd's intent, unlike that of Yong, is the guarantee of Oneness exclusion, rather than the Yong's inclusion. He stresses, for example, the recognition of commonality and the mutual respect of theological possibilities with the Oneness movement.³⁹

6.5 Haywood and the Color Line in the History of Oneness Pentecostalism

The racism which was indicative of the culture also plagued the AG and early Pentecostalism, but Oneness Pentecostal enthusiasts believed they had come to the kingdom for such a time as this to demonstrate the true work of Pentecost with restorative zeal. In the Oneness passion for truth, especially as idealized from the African American Oneness perspective, emancipation and deliverance were viewed as dominant aspects of Pentecost as Spirit poured out on *all* flesh without partiality.

Calvary and Pentecost were powerful symbols of this emancipation, as Bartleman said of Azusa Street, with the color line "washed away in the blood."⁴⁰ Although the concept had proved void in the mindset of Parham, the AG, and a growing segment of the Pentecostal movement, Oneness Pentecostals rallied to it as a victory for truth in the new

³⁷ Tony Ritchey, "God's Fairness to People of All Faiths: A Respectful Proposal to Pentecostals for Discussion Regarding World Religions," *Pneuma* 28:1 (2006): 105-119.

³⁸ Yong, *Spirit Poured Out*, 207-208.

³⁹ Cf. Boyd, *Oneness Pentecostals*, 12, 9-10; Yong, *Spirit Poured Out*, 211.

⁴⁰ Bartleman, *Los Angeles*, 49.

PAW, especially after the loss experienced with the AG, the withdrawing Trinitarian majority of the PAW itself, and the PAOC in Canada. They fully anticipated, as Lawson later noted, that “apostolic people would rise to redeem man by example and precept.”⁴¹

6.5.1 Washington and DuBois Influences

Before considering Haywood’s considerable role in attempting to counter the interracial back-tracking of the Oneness movement, it is helpful to recognize the diversity of influences on his perceptions, especially that of Washington and DuBois.

Washington’s influence is more clearly demonstrable in Haywood due to the articles and sketches which are related to him in *The Freeman*. According to Raymond Smock, it was Booker T. Washington who became the “leading spokesman for the race,” with millions of African Americans looking to Washington “as their new Moses” during the challenges of this period of Black American history.

Nevertheless, Washington’s policy of acceptance of Jim Crow limitations, and thus the perceived “soft peddling” of civil rights, together with the worsening Black condition, resulted in growing Black opposition to the leadership perspective of Washington.⁴² But the *Boston Guardian* was criticized by *The Freeman* and *The Recorder* for its attacks on Washington’s efforts. DuBois criticized Washington’s approach as being merely “accommodation,” whereas DuBois wanted activism.⁴³

Haywood’s *Freeman* sketches certainly lauded Washington, as did millions of other African Americans, for many years after attitudes toward his policies began to shift

⁴¹ Lawson, *Anthropology*, 34.

⁴² Raymond W. Smock, *Booker T. Washington: Black Leadership in the Age of Jim Crow* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2009), 3, 120, 171, 203; cf. Michael Bieze, *Booker T. Washington and the Art of Self-Representation* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 16, 25, 29.

⁴³ Tony Seybert, who has referred to the early Black press as “Soldiers Without Swords,” explains that “most Black newspapers tended to be conservative, supporting the ideas of Washington.” See, Tony Seybert, “The Black Press: Soldiers Without Swords,” *The Black Voice News*, www.blackvoicenews.com (accessed January 25, 2010).

and became controversial among many Blacks. Haywood's perspective reflected in his 1903 *Freeman* sketches was strongly influenced by, and supported, Booker T. Washington.⁴⁴ The newspaper articles which accompanied these sketches were likely Haywood's as well. David Bundy makes the following observation regarding Haywood and *The Freeman* materials:

These periodicals followed carefully the issues posed by institutionalized discrimination and racial politics through the nation. His cartoons reflected that concern with racial issues. The tone of the papers and of the cartoons was proudly African American and reflected a refined understanding of turn-of-the-century American racism. Although Haywood's cartoons are signed, his articles, as most articles in these periodicals, do not reveal their authorship.⁴⁵

The "creative conflict" between Washington and an increasing array of other Black leaders resulted in DuBois publicly breaking with Washington's leadership in 1903, after which he established the NAACP in 1906 as a political rival to his influence on African Americans. DuBois, the first African American PhD at Harvard, was outspoken in his criticisms of Washington: "Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races."⁴⁶ Washington, who died in 1915, had, according to some, not established a platform which could counter the increasing tide of Jim Crow discriminatory laws leveled against African Americans.

W. E. B. DuBois had also clearly impacted Haywood in significant, though less obvious ways. DuBois' writings, which called the color line "*the* problem of the twentieth century," were pervasive in African American society. In the mindset of the

⁴⁴ See, *The Freeman*, "Uncle Sam," January 29, 1903, 1, 'union' Whites saying, "We won't work with a negro,"; "Good Citizenship Must Be Encouraged," February 7, 1903, 1, bricks being hurled at Roosevelt for extending a hand to the "negro"; the 1903 attacks out of Boston on Booker T. Washington, "The Hour and the Man," February 14, 1903, 1.

⁴⁵ Bundy, "Urban Realities," 238.

⁴⁶ Smock, *Washington*, 154, 166, 193; cf. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Creative Conflict in African American Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 50.

PAW this was a period of hope that the color line would indeed be washed away, a desire partially realized in the period 1906-1924.

DuBois, too, appears to have influenced Haywood's perceptions in a manner not unlike that millions of African Americans of the era, that is, via his 1903 history making sociological analysis of African American "double consciousness," *The Souls of Black Folk*. DuBois had become extremely impatient with Washington's inadequate methods of addressing racial concerns, which he had come to see as practically accepting the limitations set on Blacks by what he called "Whiteness."⁴⁷ Haywood was evidently less impacted by the rivalry with Washington's ideology, but does show evidence of DuBois' double consciousness influence as reflected in his monumental hymn "I See A Crimson Stream of Blood."

6.5.2 The Crimson Stream and the Voice in the Wilderness

The equality for which Washington, DuBois, and others were laboring on a national and political level, the PAW was embarking upon in the religious realm, although its scope was international as well. But Haywood did not consider himself dependent upon human theoretical initiative. Instead, one of the most inspiring directives which impacted the challenge facing Haywood was a Sunday vision experience, which has since become legendary, from which he emerged with the entirety of his most memorable and moving hymns – "I See A Crimson Stream of Blood."

In the face of mounting difficulties Haywood reportedly emerged from his office directly into the Christ Temple sanctuary early in 1920 having received a dramatic, life changing vision of Calvary and of a "crimson stream of blood." Etching the experience into verse he wrote: "Its waves which reach the throne of God are sweeping over me!"⁴⁸

⁴⁷ DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 13, 43, 50.

⁴⁸ "I See A Crimson Stream of Blood," *Bridegroom Songs*, chorus, 45; cf.,

Nathaniel A. Urshan, son of Andrew Urshan and former General Superintendent of the UPCI, was known to speak of the indelible impression that the resulting anthem had upon him at the age of eight as a weeping Haywood sang of the cross and the crimson stream. In fact, Haywood's reputation as a singer and hymn leader was of such notoriety that members of Christ Temple from the era said that when he sang it was "like the heavens would open up."⁴⁹

The hymn not only demonstrates the centrality of the cross in Oneness theological thought, but it clearly reflects, as well, an embedded double-meaning or explication reflecting DuBois' influence. The "sin's demands" denote the role of blood in salvation, but the blood is also celebratory "rays of hope" for a blood washed equity and integration for all people, if not in culture, certainly in the kingdom.

On Cal'vry's hill of sorrow
Where sin's demands were paid
And rays of hope for tomorrow
Across our path were laid.⁵⁰

A crimson stream, in fact, became an iconic symbol of spiritual and racial possibilities, synonymous with Haywood himself. Although the color line would be redrawn at the close of the Doak era and prove to be White, the interracial period which PAW visionaries accomplished took on a grandiose aura of enduring quality far ahead of its time. When the unspeakable redrawing of the color line began to take place, Haywood again became the protectorate of the interracial vision, although a majority of the White Oneness Pentecostals walked away.

also, similar themes of well-known songs from the previous year (1919), "Thank God, For the Blood," and "The Day of Redemption," *Bridegroom Songs*, 2, 37, as well as "I'm Saved Today," 1921, 61, including, for example, the lines "in vain attempt the soul to free," "Christ removed it all away," "God's church is the power that's shaking this hour," and "to raise the guilty from the fall and wash their sins away."

⁴⁹ Garrett, *Haywood*, 25; Peagler, *Haywood*, 61; N. A. Urshan (1920-2005) led the UPCI for twenty four years from 1978-2002.

⁵⁰ "I See A Crimson Stream of Blood," first stanza.

In his role as a conscience and noted spokesman of a fledgling movement Haywood's identity, via his widely read periodical, as *The Voice in the Wilderness* was widely touted. Leonard had noted well in 1916: "They have a voice." And it was increasingly obvious. The *Indianapolis Star* reported by mid-1924, at the time of the ground breaking for the building of Haywood's impressive new Christ Temple: "The membership of the church now numbers almost 1,200."⁵¹ Every aspect of Haywood's leadership voice and notoriety was on the ascendancy, evidencing that emerging interracial discontent had not stemmed from displeasure with Haywood.⁵²

Haywood's double-voiced "wilderness" analogy served as an expressive symbol of both the salvation cry and the lonely cry for racial justice and equity. Such wilderness difficulties for Haywood were nothing new. "We were obligated to nail up the sashes with boards," Haywood noted of segregationist attempts in 1908 and 1909 to shut down his first W. Michigan Street mission.⁵³ With the painful redrawing of the color line in the 1920's the emotional boarding up of the sashes once again took its toll as Haywood ultimately faced the same racial obstacles and reversals which had confronted Seymour, the Azusa Street revival, Mason, and others.

In spite of years of publicly visible effort expended in the erasing of the color line, no amount of legislation and rhetoric could keep it washed away once the return to

⁵¹ "Apostolic Faith Assembly," *The Indianapolis Star*, June 13, 1924, 14. Black or White, few Pentecostal leaders enjoyed such renown. Indicative of his wide populist appeal is Ewart's glowing report in *The Phenomenon of Pentecost* describing Haywood's much sought after ministry at the Main Street Mission in Los Angeles: "Crowds flocked there to enjoy his wonderful Bible teaching. His knowledge of the word of God was phenomenal," see, Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 50.

⁵² As Anthea Butler noted in her SPS presidential address, "Pentecostal Traditions We Should Pass On," what obliterates the prophetic voice of liberation and holiness is very often the unwillingness "to engage the difficult issues." And so it was within the Oneness movement at the time. See, Anthea Butler, "Pentecostal Traditions We Should Pass On: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," *Pneuma* 27:2 (Fall 2005): 344.

⁵³ "Integrated City Church Had Stormy History," http://www2.indystar.com/library/factfiles/history/black_history/, by Lynn Ford, in *Indiana Black History News*, February 1990, 4 (accessed February 1, 2010).

cultural racist norms preempted original restorationist vision. But the White commitment to radical separatist theology in areas of holiness and doctrine which so profoundly shaped its theological and self-identifying underpinnings and norms in many facets of its development served to mask its abandonment in the area of race.

This tilt in the scales was a major shift from its Azusa Street ideological framework in which the interracial goal and reality constituted an eschatological sign of the validity of the Pentecostal experience and, indeed, the movement itself.⁵⁴ During the height of the interracial zeal White and Black Oneness participants from a broad spectrum of movement had stood proudly with Haywood, as with other Black leadership, just as they had with White leadership, defying the worldliness of racism.⁵⁵

6.6 Preliminary Discussion on Redrawing an Erased Color Line

As evidence mounted of the looming racial division many were hoping that Haywood could secure a resolution which might salvage the damaged hull of the PAW. The accomplishments of the united interracial PAW had certainly astounded most observers, especially since it was evident that its relative cohesion and racial intentionality had not come easily.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Seymour's first issue of *The Apostolic Faith* reflected an identical emphasis, reporting on the multiple evidences which follow genuine Spirit baptism such as healings, miracles, and "gifts of languages" for missionary preaching. Prominent among these signs, but contrary to the social norms, was the "humble" reality of "colored people," Whites, and all "nationalities" now united by the Spirit to "worship together," and, thus, a replication of Pentecost. See, *The Apostolic Faith*, Los Angeles, "The Same Old Way," September 1906, vol. 1, no. 1, 3.

⁵⁵ Nevertheless, after the initial flourishing of the interracial arrangement beginning in January 1918, the strength to engage the difficult issue of race did not endure past the fateful split in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World in October 1924.

⁵⁶ The one most credited with its success had been Haywood, so much so that its headquarters was relocated to Roosevelt Road in Indianapolis just a few miles northeast of the center of downtown. According to the 2000 U.S. Census Indianapolis population was 791,926, with a metro population of 1.5 million. The Indiana state population was 6,080,485. Indiana has a lower ethnic composition than the U. S. as a whole: U. S. - 75.1% White, 12.3% Black, and 12.5% Hispanic, 3.6% Asian; Indiana - 87.5% White, 8.4% Black, 3.5% Hispanic, 1% Asian. See, *Census 2000: Indiana*, from the Census

In Indianapolis, where the societal rejection included the dubbing of the movement as the “Gliggy Bluks,” Haywood was successful nevertheless. Only someone with adequately manifest zeal could have done as much in a state which by the mid-1920’s led the nation in supremacist rhetoric. The *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* states: “Nowhere was ‘Americanization’ stronger or the Ku Klux Klan more active.” In fact, the KKK resurgence in Indiana into the largest in the U.S. was a parallel-in-contrast to Haywood’s impressive church and the interracial PAW.⁵⁷

MacRobert coined the expression “redrawing the color line” relative to the Oneness racial division, which necessarily assumes the fact of a previously erased color line. The noteworthy intentions of the Oneness movement in interracial fervor fade in the redrawing of that which it had defied. But with societal opinion weighing so heavily in support of scrapping the entire interracial effort, the reversal could be quick and effortless. The culture would, for once, applaud them.

Throughout the first half of 1924 it was rather doubtful that anyone could halt the seemingly inevitable division, although many did try. Unity Conferences were implemented and apparently accelerated prior to the 1924 PAW Conference.⁵⁸ *The Christian Outlook* reported that Mason had even attended the November 1923 conference held in Chicago. A bit of startling news, without further corroboration or detail, was printed by Haywood: “Elder C. H. Mason, General Overseer of the Church of God in

Bureau; Research and analysis by Anthony DeBarros, Cheryl Phillips and Paul Overberg, *USA Today*, www.census.usatoday.com (accessed July 8, 2007); cf., also, Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths*, 545, listing the 1990 African America population as 165,570.

⁵⁷ See, Chapter Two: II. A. “The Background and Context of the Racial Complexity and the Racial Issues in Indianapolis”; *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, Barrows and Bodenhamer, eds., vii; Pierce, *Polite Protest*, 12; Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths*, 547; cf. Blum, *Reforging*, 233. Also, the Black population in Indianapolis was increasing, with 34,678 by 1920 (11%) and 43,967 by 1930 (12%).

⁵⁸ Unity Conferences were held November 1922, November 1923, and then again in about April 1924, see, *Christian Outlook*, January 1923, 25, December 1923, 235, and May 1924, 370.

Christ, acknowledged in the Unity Conference at Chicago that he was baptized in Jesus name in August 1920 in Mississippi.”⁵⁹

In the past surprisingly little public or written discussion had occurred which went on record espousing division on any basis. But southern dissatisfaction with the racial complexity of the PAW was not hidden by any means, although it was not until 1922 that public actions began to explicitly demonstrate it. By 1923 the PAW business minutes suggested that they were in “danger of being rent asunder” over certain administrative issues. The actual core reasons for the emerging problems which remained mostly unspoken had more to do with conflicting culturalisms and racial insensitivities than polity.⁶⁰ On the whole a rather minuscule amount of historical primary source material has been helpful in evaluating the exact what, how, and why of the deterioration of the interracial commitment.

The most extensive study of the movement, Reed’s *In Jesus’ Name*, devotes little attention to either the race issue within the movement or the racial divide, as is also the case with Howell’s “People of the Name.”⁶¹ Roderick R. Brown, in his 2005 University of South Dakota M.A. Thesis, “Oneness Pentecostalism and Ethnicity: A Decision Out of Step,” although emphasizing a wealth of related historical materials regarding race and church history, commits only a few pages to the PAW racial divide.

Lawson, on the other hand, has addressed the racial issue directly in his writings. Clanton also focuses almost entirely upon explanations for the division in his discussion

⁵⁹ Other related information regarding the conference pointed to its abysmal failure to promote unity. See, “Column of Information,” *Christian Outlook*, December 1923, 251.

⁶⁰ *1923-1924 PAW Minute Book*, “Minutes of the General Assembly of the P. A. of W. Convention Held at St. Louis, Missouri, October 4 to 6 Inclusive, 1923-1924, 9. Even Haywood’s own self-reflective understandings of the divisions are mostly little more than hints of otherwise unexpressed detail.

⁶¹ Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 211-216; Howell, “People of the Name,” 100-105.

of the PAW.⁶² In *The Early Pentecostal Revival*, African American PAW historian James L. Tyson devotes at least 35 pages to the racial issue, including one entire chapter, entitled “The Body Is Rent Asunder.”⁶³

Interesting in the discussion of the racial division is the contrast in approach between Blacks and Whites. For example, White ministers expected that their simple disavowal of racial motivation would be adequate proof that a racial division was in no way racially motivated. But such dodging of the real substance of the conflict comes across as mostly disingenuous and patronizing.

The earliest Oneness historical account by Golder, an African American, offers a very different explanation regarding the why of the events, for example, than that of Foster and Clanton. “When the White ministers left the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World,” Clanton suggests, “it was not because of racial prejudice on their part.” On the other hand, Golder, a protégé of Haywood’s, interprets the data differently, arguing emphatically, and persuasively, that “color,” indeed, was the issue.

If the White Pentecostal brethren would have stood firm against prejudice and racial injustice, having the most powerful authority (the Holy Spirit) and the most powerful message (the Gospel of Jesus Christ), they could have been the instruments of God for the destruction of this hideous ideology. But instead of fighting it, they submitted to its influence and have been affected by it even until now.⁶⁴

Historians, short of oppositional concession, have nevertheless substantiated Golder’s assessment indicating that White Oneness Pentecostalism, as Butler said of its Trinitarian counterpart, “slowly began to dance.” In similar fashion the movement

⁶² Roderick R. Brown, “Oneness Pentecostalism and Ethnicity: A Decision Out of Step,” M.A. Thesis, University of South Dakota, 2005, 126-135; see, also, a summary of the Thesis, “Oneness Pentecostalism and Race: A Decision Out of Step,” Urshan Graduate School of Theology Symposium, 2005; Clanton and Clanton, *United*, seven out of nine pages, 33-39.

⁶³ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 192-195, 199-201, 240-268.

⁶⁴ Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 32; Golder, *History*, 65, 80, cited in Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 31, and MacRobert, *Black Roots*, 73.

resisted its own basic impulse and affirmed the dominant culture with deliberate intent, including the Jim Crow racial exclusion.⁶⁵ Wacker adds to the equation the aspect of a growing movement which accommodates to racist assumptions of the culture. The movement failed to “provide a sustained theology of race reconciliation” which inevitably led to the same recoiling and pulling away found in society at large.⁶⁶

6.7 Historical Account of the PAW Racial Division (1923-1924)

Aspects of the sequence of what Reed refers to as “gradually revealed serious racial tensions” can be unclear amidst the nuanced interpretations of the events.⁶⁷ But Haywood’s perspective, however sketchy or veiled, is available from before, during, and after the racial divide. He noted in late 1923, for example: “God has called for his brethren to be gathered together. But there are men standing in the way.”⁶⁸

The first evidence of a southern racial problem began to surface, associated with a Southern Bible Conference in Little Rock in 1922, about the time of Seymour’s death and in the fifth year after the PAW merger. Kidson’s suggestion years later that separation had been “talked, pro and con” for several years previous may have been an isolated reality, but there appears to be no evidence of this before or during the crisis. Kidson later insisted that they had not intended to completely separate.⁶⁹

6.7.1 Southern and Separate White Meetings, Abolished Chairmanship, and Rejection of the Signature of Black Officials on Ministerial Licenses

Safety concerns and segregated public facilities excluded Blacks from southern meetings, requiring that they be held in the north, adding expense to southerners, as well

⁶⁵ Butler, “Pentecostal Traditions,” 347; italics added.

⁶⁶ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 226-227.

⁶⁷ T. C. Davis could not have signed credentials for Blacks as a Black, due simple to the fact that he was not African American, see, Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 211, 212; *1910 U.S. Census*, Indianapolis, IN, 5B, *1920 U.S. Census*, Indianapolis, IN, 25A, and Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 203.

⁶⁸ G. T. Haywood, “Unity Conference,” *Christian Outlook*, December 1923, 235.

⁶⁹ According to this perception of the conflict things somehow simply escalated. See, W. E. Kidson, *The Apostolic Herald*, July 30, 5; Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 37.

as assuring that they were “outnumbered” by northerners.⁷⁰ Southerners had longed for a meeting, such as the Southern Bible Conference, although, by necessity, African American ministers would be excluded, whether or not that was the intended ‘motive.’ Yet not being able to have meetings in the South was an increasing “agitation,” on the one hand, whereas Blacks resented exclusion, the actuality of which would only serve to increase suspicion that these ministers viewed segregation as a preference.

As Brown has pointed out, the southern conference caused PAW African American ministers to believe that they were being “intentionally excluded.” Even more incendiary was the fact of the enormous success of the Little Rock meeting, which prompted organizer William A. Mulford, formerly Haywood’s ‘Assistant Secretary,’ to wire Doak, who reportedly “took the next train” to join them, was even more incendiary. It was so widely touted that a booklet was published, inadvertently announcing an unsanctioned, repeat “Southern” gathering, to be held just prior to the 1923 PAW convention.⁷¹

While African Americans were stunned and angered, many White participants, evidently, failed to grasp the height of insensitivity, offense, and highly volatile course of events, that had been triggered by these actions. Conference organizer S. C. McClain, commenting later, appears to express southern regret for what they saw as mostly a “wrong impression,” southerners forcing their meetings upon the entire PAW. The name was even changed to “*General Bible Conference*” for 1924. Booth-Clibborn’s booklet, *A Call to the Dust and Ashes*, in spite of the furor, called for the strong support of “our own

⁷⁰ Peagler, *Haywood*, 79; Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 73; The Southern Bible Conference, held in November 1922, was sponsored by the states of AR, MO, TX, AL, OK, TN, and LA, from which it derived its committee members.

⁷¹ Brown, “Race,” UGST, 15; Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 75; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 245-246, 194; William E. Booth-Clibborn, *A Call to the Dust and Ashes* (St. Paul: By the author, 1922).

organization,” the PAW: “Don’t jump out.... If the organization-ship is leaking—all hands to pumps—yours included.”⁷²

The stage had already been set for a turbulent ‘voyage’ throughout 1923. Historians have tended to jump quickly to the events of 1924, although the characterizations of a “volatile situation,” exacerbated by “power struggles,” an “undercurrent,” and a “growing rift” or “wedge” between the races, are as apropos to 1923, as to the following year.⁷³ The threats to the ‘organizational-ship’ were increasingly more titanic-like. According to an “open letter” published by Haywood, within just a few months after the Southern Bible Conference, Doak announced intentions to resign, i.e., “refused re-election,” “many months before” the 1923 PAW Convention in St. Louis.⁷⁴

As a result, two fateful decisions were made in 1923 which would effectively torpedo the interracial aspirations of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. First, with Doak’s resignation, a battle ensued over a replacement. Perhaps this was related to White concerns that the obvious might occur, the election of Haywood, an African American, at the precise time that race relations were so terribly strained, and the burgeoning growth of the southern Oneness region was becoming rather notable. It was, nonetheless, rather unprecedented to entirely eliminate the office of chairman as a supposed solution.

“There was a considerable amount of controversy,” Haywood himself reported, “as to who should be the next Ex. Chairman.” Haywood also reported that the “tension ran high.” Haywood himself, in the *Christian Outlook*, explained the final, surprising decision—to replace the office of PAW chairman with a seven member interracial Board

⁷² Brown, “Ethnicity,” 128; Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 35; “General Bible Conference,” *Christian Outlook*, February 1924, 281, italics added; see, also, Booth-Clibborn, *Dust and Ashes*, 21.

⁷³ Brown, “Ethnicity,” 131; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 199, 201; Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 212; Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 76.

⁷⁴ G. T. Haywood, “An Open Letter,” *Christian Outlook*, October 1923, 208.

of Presbyters, comprised of Haywood, Urshan, Goss, Schooler, Booth-Clibborn, Turpin, and Davis.”⁷⁵

The second St. Louis decision, less personal to Haywood, but another major racial upset, eclipsed the struggle over the office of Chairman, with an admission that the PAW, including Haywood, had found it necessary to compromise over the issue of some who did not want an African American to sign their credentials. Haywood’s ‘open letter’ in October 1923 appears to have been an attempt to soften the blow.

Owing to trouble among some of the Ministers in the Southern part of the country, it was decided that Credentials and Fellowship Certificates *for such cases* should be signed by Elder T. C. Davis and Howard A. Goss. In cases where it is not deemed necessary the general course will be pursued.⁷⁶

The Minutes revealed an even more telling and injurious state of affairs than perhaps the leadership had been willing to admit in the face of such a ludicrous decision. MacRoberts’ response echoes Golder’s: “Are we expected to believe that a person’s colour is discernible from his signature?” Golder wondered at Whites being “made to suffer,” or as Paddock says, “belittled,” simply because a Black man’s name “appeared on his credentials.”⁷⁷

It is highly probable that such a compromise emboldened the hopes of some Whites that their African American ministerial comrades would yield to their wishes and accept further concessions. The actual resolution, the fateful ‘Resolution #4,’ suggested, or “deemed advisable,” and, thus, recommended that Blacks also have their credentials

⁷⁵ Haywood, “An Open Letter,” 208. The arrangement, though, designated Haywood as “Secretary,” as well as the editor-in-chief of the *Christian Outlook*. See, also, *1923-1924 PAW Minute Book*, 9. Four members were White, Urshan, Goss, Booth-Clibborn, and Davis, and three Black, Haywood, Schooler, and Turpin.

⁷⁶ Haywood, “An Open Letter,” 208.

⁷⁷ MacRobert, *Black Roots*, 74; Golder, *History*, 82-83; Paddock, *Heritage*, 49.

signed only by Blacks, adding that the new arrangement was being mandated by “conditions” which were “no fault of the brethren.”⁷⁸

In the December 1923 *Christian Outlook* Haywood repeated explanations regarding the ‘no chairman’ decision, but not the ‘no-Black-signature’ debate, which was ravaging the movement. He did, though, place a brief article about KKK race hatred in the same column: “In this fight between the Ku Klux Klan and the Catholics the saints of God should remain neutral.... To join the Klans you will have to take on race hatred.” As a farewell to Doak, now an honorary Board member, but with office of chairman now defunct, Haywood reported: “Elder E. W. Doak and wife have reached California, after motoring thirty days.”⁷⁹

6.7.2 The Defeat of the 1924 Texas Resolution for a Separate Black Administration and the Resulting White Walk-Out

Texas was the largest and fastest growing state in the southern region, rivaling Indianapolis and the Midwest, and quickly becoming the largest Oneness center by the later 1920’s. Many of its earliest and most influential leaders had emerged from Parham’s influence and ministry, rather than having self-identified with Seymour’s influence and Azusa, such as Goss, Opperman, Floyd, Lyons, Hall, Osborn and Fauss. The early influence of leadership, and certainly the southern regional attitudes, impacted their interracial commitments.

Although southern dominance and influence figured prominently into the racial tensions within the PAW in 1923-1924, northern participation, or acquiescence, played a role, as well. Tensions, though, did not ensue because of a “disproportionate” number of PAW Black ‘officials,’ which was quite representative, but rather because of the rapidly

⁷⁸ 1923-1924 PAW Minute Book, 10; see, also, Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 243.

⁷⁹ G. T. Haywood, “Column of Information,” *Christian Outlook*, December 1923, 251; 1923-1924 PAW Minute Book, 12.

increasing number of Black ministers within the PAW in ratio to the number of White ministers.⁸⁰

As 1924 began, Haywood appears to have been quite aware that the interracial PAW was in danger of ‘sinking’ fast. Brown has uncovered another factor which, evidently, was contributing to the deterioration of an “already volatile situation,” involving White protestation to an “interracial marriage” which had occurred in Booth-Clibborn’s St. Paul church. The on-going ‘signature’ issue, appropriately depicted by Tyson as a virtual “powder keg” of “hypocrisy” and “ignorance,” continued to inflict irreparable damage to the organizational hull.⁸¹

“If ever there was a time that God’s people should be laying aside their differences,” Haywood lamented in May, “it is now.” “If we cannot forgive our brethren and seek the unity of the Spirit we are not ready for the appearing of our Savoir.” But “division,” not “unity,” was the proposal of July 8, 1924 PAW Presbyter Board meeting—“a proposed division between the colored and White,” the north under Schooler, the South under Urshan.⁸²

Haywood had just asked regarding the “petty differences” which were ripping away at the organization: “Can such a thing be of God?” “As brethren, and as a movement,” he pleaded, “we must stand together for the name of Jesus sake.” But Haywood’s efforts at peacemaking and unity were clearly being ignored.⁸³

The Texas ministers met in Houston just days prior to the October 1924 Chicago PAW Convention, and, energized by earlier concessions, they drafted two resolutions

⁸⁰ Cf., Howell, “People of the Name,” 100, 101, and Golder, *History*, 65.

⁸¹ Brown, “Ethnicity,” 131; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 243-244.

⁸² G. T. Haywood, “The Time Is At Hand,” in “Editorials,” *Christian Outlook*, May 1924, 356; Copy of official handwritten secretarial notes by G. T. Haywood, PAW Presbyter Board Meeting, Chicago, July 8, 1924, see, Tyson, *Chalices*, 295.

⁸³ G. T. Haywood, “Division Coming,” *Christian Outlook*, June 1924, 374; cf., “One Convention,” August 1924, 418, and “Editorial,” September 1924, 441.

more destructive to racial unity than anything previously proposed, except that this time the African American ministers were prepared for them. Not only did the Texas delegation propose for the PAW to have two separate administrations, one Black, one White, but they also intended to change the name ‘Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.’⁸⁴

The southern proposal attempted to convince Whites, many of whom were absolutely opposed to these suggestions, as well as Blacks, of the rationale behind the supposed “handicap” caused by interracial unity, such as a supposed hindrance in spreading the gospel and the strain of dealing with social laws. But they were not impressed with such arguments. Tyson suggests that it was nothing less than “flagrant rebellion.”⁸⁵

Nonetheless, amidst counter proposals and attempts at appeasement, and, in what was likely an unexpected turn of events from the perspective of the Whites leading this cause, the proposals were totally rejected. The intent had not been total separation, but neither could they bring themselves to yield to a racial defeat. Instead, on October 15, 1924, the defeated White faction walked out, leaving the vast majority of the White segment of the movement in considerable disarray, and the Black ministers, and the sizeable number of remaining Whites, wounded and angry, but in full control of the PAW.

6.8 Post-Interracial PAW Perspectives on the Racial Division

In his popular *Witness of God*, the following month, Urshan explained the organizational rationale of withdrawing ministers: “Now we will minister to them under

⁸⁴ Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 36-37; Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 213; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 247.

⁸⁵ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 248; Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 213, n. 38.

the ‘Apostolic Churches of Jesus Christ,’ the *White ministerial branch* of the P. A. W.”⁸⁶

Although the PAW had soundly rejected the offending, back-to-segregation proposal, calling for two administrations in one organization, so that Whites could separate from Blacks, effort was exerted to downplay the division. Haywood, less than three months after the split, for the sake of the movement, wrote the following call to unity:

The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World is not divided. Those who have reorganized themselves are supposed to have done so in order that the Southern brethren might not be hindered in reaching the public with their message. It should have been called the Southern Branch of the P. A. of W. However that may be, the General body stands as heretofore. There is no difference with God. All brethren shall be treated alike”⁸⁷

Perhaps the lingering hope that they might still be able to rally a majority of both Black and White ministers continued to inspire them, as did their commitment to interracial organization and the loyal White segment of the PAW, now approximately 20-30% of the whole. “The P. A. of W., will always stand for the freedom of the brethren,” Haywood wrote in 1926, “regardless to race or color.”

The additional explanation, though, remains sufficiently ambiguous, without a means of clarification: “It is true that a large number of the brethren are the opposite race, but this was caused by many of those drawing away after they found that finances were running short, and drew many others with them who were ignorant of their devices.”⁸⁸ In spite of the Haywood’s conciliatory explanation that the PAW was actually not “divided,” for him to speak of the “supposed” motives of the withdrawing Whites belies the underlying anguish which resulted from the racial divide. Tyson’s depiction of

⁸⁶ A. D. Urshan, *Witness of God*, November 1924, 59th edition, vol. 6, 8.

⁸⁷ G. T. Haywood, “Editorial Page,” *Christian Outlook*, January 1925, 4; italics added. Other, similar Haywood articles in *Christian Outlook* include “Unity and Strength,” December 1923, 196, “New Organizations,” October 1924, 466, “United Methodism: North and South,” November 1924, 481, and “Unity,” July 1925, 124.

⁸⁸ Cf., Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 206-207; G. T. Haywood, “To Our Brethren of Color,” *Christian Outlook*, January 1926, 3.

the impact upon the PAW as “rent asunder” by these events is certainly realistically and historically accurate.⁸⁹

The *Christian Outlook*, perhaps for spiritual and social reasons, did not become the vehicle for a publicly strident critique, or even a lament, of a re-emergence and the role of the racism at play in the Oneness racial division. Although suppressed and never admitted to, Golder calls it the “demon of prejudice.” He suggests that, whether from the failure to maintain their previous commitment, or due to an original absence of any meaningful commitment, a sufficient number of them “never intended that a black brother should be equal with his White brethren even in the Lord.” MacRobert, additionally, interprets, as “spineless” and “bigoted,” their uncritical accommodation to social “laws and customs.”⁹⁰

Brown’s thesis, rather than emphasizing the historical questions surrounding the racial issues within the movement, concentrates on related race-slave history and societal race law, drawing heavily on Ayers’ *The Promise of the New South* and Woodward’s *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Holding, more or less, the interracial impulse to be fundamental to Pentecostalism, Brown concludes that the White Oneness decision for racial division was “a decision out of step,” incongruent with the movement’s fundamental orientation, the central tenet of “every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation” (Revelation 5:9 KJV), essentially, its own restorative organizing principle.⁹¹

Except for that of R. C. Lawson, African American Oneness responses from this episode, and even before, though not unexpected, were exceptionally guarded, at least in print. Wacker makes the observation of Haywood’s approach to the issue of race, in his

⁸⁹ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 192.

⁹⁰ Golder, *History*, 78-79; see, also, MacRobert, “The Spirit and the Wall,” 132.

⁹¹ Brown, “Ethnicity,” 136ff, 48-74; see, also, Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford, 1992) and C. Van Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

Voice in the Wilderness, “in particular,” for example, that it “seemed almost completely unmindful of such matters.” But Wacker’s conclusion, that race only “played a slight role” in his “theological thinking,” is probably inadequate as an explanation of Haywood’s racial motivations.⁹²

Quite descript of the Black Oneness responses, and Haywood, particularly, Wacker also notes: “Facing a brick wall of incomprehension at best, and hostility at worst black Pentecostals responded with resignation.”⁹³ To use the expression of Salvation Army Captain Ballington Booth, perhaps the experience of grappling with the social dilemmas was, for African Americans of the period, a bit like “bailing the ocean with a thimble.”⁹⁴ Note, as well, Stephens’ suggestion:

The southern Pentecostal press only occasionally broached the subject of race. Even periodicals edited by African-Americans, including the *Whole Truth* and *Voice in the Wilderness*, showed *remarkable inattention* to matters of racial justice.... Yet when the press did grapple with issues of race, it must have made a strong impact upon its readers.⁹⁵

6.9 Comparative Analyses of the PAW Racial Divide **– Tinney, MacRobert, and Gerloff**

The most exceptional of the essential analyses regarding implications of the early Oneness racial division, undoubtedly, include Gerloff’s varying studies, especially as she has summarized these insights in “Theology En Route of Migration,” as well as the works of Tinney and MacRobert. Hollenweger’s evaluation of MacRobert offers the salient warning regarding the temptation, in efforts at race analysis and unity, to fail to go far

⁹² Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 234.

⁹³ Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 321.

⁹⁴ Quoted in Sanders, *Saints in Exile*, 135, n. 27.

⁹⁵ Randall J. Stephens, “There Is Magic in Print: The Holiness-Pentecostal Press and the Origins of Southern Pentecostalism,” Part II, <http://jsr.fsu.edu/2002/Stephens.htm> (accessed August 3, 2009); italics added.

enough and simply “pass over to hallelujahs.” “In many cases,” he cautions, “Pentecostal spirituality obscures the real societal and structural relationships.”⁹⁶

Tinney’s work is an excellent starting point for grappling with the difficulty of the Oneness racial division which sabotaged its interracial union. The Oneness mindset, or orientation, was actually viewed by Tinney as “a conscious break with White theological standards,” which, in turn, impacted White acceptance of Black cultural influences. Whites, he suggests, were “far more influenced” by Black culture, than vice-versa, citing, as an example, “the wider acceptance of emotional display even in White churches.” The movement’s propensities were too radical, spiritually and socially, for the majority of its AG counterparts. Tinney argues that, “in actuality,” AG and other Trinitarian rejection of the movement was “largely because of opposition to the Black cultural influences.”⁹⁷

Tinney’s explanation of the Oneness racial division may best be described as pragmatic, in that he suggests that it stemmed from the culturally “competing worldviews” of Black versus White. Interestingly, though, rather than positing ‘blatant’ or conscious racism at its core, Tinney attributes the conflict, basically, to the cultural clash originating from, and, most importantly, operating at the “*subconscious* level.” Therefore, denied and suppressed, divergent culturalisms, “struggling to gain ascendancy,” were the inevitable divisive spark.⁹⁸

The acceptance and introduction of social segregation, nonetheless, unmasked the racism at the root of the conflict, inflicting a deep wound and long-term “feeling of being betrayed by Whites,” which remains to the present. In Tinney’s general discussion of

⁹⁶ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecost Between Black and White* (Belfast: Christian Journals Limited, 1974), 11.

⁹⁷ Tinney, “Significance of Race,” 64, 63.

⁹⁸ Tinney, “Significance of Race,” 62, 63; *italics added*.

racism elsewhere he has noted the disingenuous attempt to “simply pass off” segregation as merely the influence “of society in general,” which clearly “misses the point.”⁹⁹

Instead, the root of implicit racism, as delineated by Tinney, is extremely complex. “The truth of the matter is that rigid class interests lie behind Pentecostal self-definition and expression,” as well as “the supposed superiority of Whites over blacks.” Unfortunately, not only have meaningful efforts at reconciliation, including repentance, not occurred since the Oneness racial division, but, as Tinney points out, “one searches in vain for an attempt in White literature bearing on the ethical import of race.” Rather than reconciliation, blame has been shifted, ironically, to African Americans in 1924 for supposedly “misunderstanding” southern segregation.¹⁰⁰

Hollenweger has suggested that MacRobert’s studies go “a long way to explain the *root cause* for the division between black and White churches,” that is, their core cultural differences. “They are two cultures,” he adds, “an oral, narrative, inclusive, black culture” and “a literary, conceptual, exclusive, White” culture. As the title indicates, MacRobert’s *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA* is not specifically critiquing the Oneness racial division. He does, though, offer some critical insights regarding it, albeit, within the framework of the African and slave roots of Pentecostalism and the significance of race in Black Pentecostal perception and understanding.¹⁰¹

MacRobert, like Tinney, considers the Assemblies of God Oneness rejection to be predicated upon prejudice against the Black contingency and its desire to “become ‘respectable’.” But he also views the 1918 PAW/GAAA merger as mostly a ‘marriage of convenience,’ which was also a term used by Whites who had been associated with

⁹⁹ Tinney, “Significance of Race,” 63, 62.

¹⁰⁰ Tinney, “Exclusivistic Tendencies,” 45; Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 74.

¹⁰¹ See, “The ‘New Issue’ Controversy,” Mac Robert, *Black Roots*, 68-76.

COGIC. He does recognize, though, that the level of commitment in the PAW was such that “both black and White were working together and, more importantly, sharing in leadership,” an indicator, it seems, of more than mere convenience.

MacRobert’s mid-1980’s work also popularized the descriptive expression, “redrawing the color line.”¹⁰² The division is framed in terms of “racially prejudiced Whites” withdrawing in a “White exodus,” due to “their unwillingness to challenge the racist mores of the South.” MacRobert is quite accurate in appraisal. Unity was replaced by acrimony.¹⁰³ Ultimately, therefore, lacking the will and courage to resist, the Oneness Pentecostal movement reverted to inconsistent segregationist division, rather than retain the equality principle of Pentecost. In doing so, it yielded to a cultural racial climate rooted in a long history of “dehumanization,” injustice, and a perception that interracial spirituality was unchristian and immoral.¹⁰⁴

Roswith Gerloff, in her focus upon the socio-economically dispossessed nature of Black Oneness Pentecostalism, goes into unique case study detail, beyond Robert Mapes Anderson’s general assumptions of disinheritance, in order to investigate what she sees as a fundamental racial freedom resulting from its spirituality. Her views are quite insightful. She views the essence of the Black Oneness experience, for example, distinctly from the White movement, as radically providing new meaning to their lives so as to constitute “an outright protest against the prevailing social order.” They utilize “the power of the gospel for liberation from *White superiority*,” and, most importantly, overcome “the speechlessness of people in society.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² MacRobert, *Black Roots*, 70, 71, 72.

¹⁰³ MacRobert, *Black Roots*, 73, 75.

¹⁰⁴ Walter J. Hollenweger, “Towards an Intercultural History of Christianity,” *International Review of Mission*, vol. 76, no. 304 (October 1987), 529, 531, 530; italics added; MacRobert, *Black Roots*, 9, 124, 73, 75.

¹⁰⁵ Roswith Gerloff, “Theology En Route of Migration: The Inner Dynamics of the Pentecostal Oneness (Apostolic) Movement from North America to the Caribbean to

Deprived, dispossessed and racially persecuted people became liberated and encouraged to preach, teach, heal, baptize and evangelize not in the name(s) or authority of traditions and dogmas imposed on them by historical (mainly White-Western) Christianity, but in the 'Name', power or authority of 'Jesus only'¹⁰⁶

Haywood is viewed by Gerloff as critical to the movement's development for several reasons, including the reference to Tinney's belief that Haywood was, in fact, "devoid of prejudice." Gerloff considers Haywood to have been what she calls a bilingual theologian "capable of thinking and preaching in the language of another culture, but also of introducing a bridge-building process by which elements of one culture become incorporated into another."¹⁰⁷ Haywood is understood by Tinney to be the key to the Black "non-derivative character" of the movement, although employing White elements in order to circulate Black oral sources. Such elements allowed the movement to emerge on its own terms, "without asking consent from any White minister," in the precise categories of Gerlach and Hines' social analysis.¹⁰⁸

Several factors are suggested by Gerloff which possibly prompted the White Oneness split, such as a "patronizing" attitude toward Blacks. She notes, too, that some must have been threatened by the expansive and perhaps unanticipated growth in the number of African American ministers in the PAW, as well as the fact that Whites adapted themselves uncritically to the Jim Crow laws.¹⁰⁹

Gerloff, relying extensively on Tinney's analysis of the White Oneness racial division, also views the 1924 racial impasse in terms of causes other than race or "*rather*

Britain and Beyond," Society for Pentecostal Studies, Fresno, California, November 1989, 24, 3, 5; italics added.

¹⁰⁶ Gerloff, "Theology En Route," 1.

¹⁰⁷ Gerloff, "Theology En Route," 11.

¹⁰⁸ Gerloff, "Theology En Route," 9, 5, 6, 8, drawing heavily from Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, "Five Factors Crucial to the Growth and Speed of a Modern Religious Movement," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 7 (1968): 23-40, and *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970).

¹⁰⁹ Gerloff, *Plea for British Black Theologies*, 108, 121, 110.

than racial hostility.” Initially, at least, class and culturalisms, which produce “a natural and normal competition” between White and Black cultures, were to blame, “each struggling to maintain its own autonomous character.”¹¹⁰

The context of Gerloff’s explanation is also Anderson’s assumption in *Vision of the Disinherited* that the White Oneness movement was almost composed entirely of the most impoverished and socially ostracized. From such a viewpoint is derived a sense that, as the poorest of the poor, they were ill-equipped to alter their own circumstances or deal with societal racial ills. Anderson’s socio-economic interpretive stance suggests, for example, that their interracial efforts were not so much anti-racist as “anti-intellectual.”¹¹¹

The implications suggest that, for example, the AG, already stigmatized as the dispossessed poor, resisted further stigmatization by rejecting the Oneness faction, and thus avoided a double rejection. Early interracial Oneness Pentecostalism, referred to by Anderson as “the most bi-racial wing” of the movement could similarly be characterized as having arrived at a point of avoiding a triple societal rejection, i.e., disinherited, heretical, and integrated.

Although Anderson probably overstates his case, he suggests that rather than challenge society the logical sociological escape was “other worldly religion.” He concludes, therefore, that division and controversy were actually essential to the invigoration of Pentecostalism, as a continuing stimulus for growth which he sees as becoming “the very life and breath” of the movement.¹¹²

6.10 R. C. Lawson’s Response to Oneness Racial Division

Although the racial split took place within the organizational structure of the PAW, the division impacted the entire movement and became its de facto modus operandi

¹¹⁰ Gerloff, “Theology En Route,” 23-24; italics added.

¹¹¹ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 231, 224, 226, 227; Gerloff, “Theology En Route,” 25.

¹¹² Anderson, *Disinherited*, 227, 192, 193.

for segregating the majority of the movement. No other Oneness group even came close to approximating the interracial detail of the PAW. Robert C. Lawson essentially removed himself from the interracial equation within the PAW by establishing the COOLJC five years prior, his own separate all-Black organization, and moving his ministry to the Bronx.

This, however, did not silence Lawson, who spoke out rather definitively against the racial division in the Oneness movement at that time. Most apropos to the times, Lawson published a book on the subject of race and racism, in 1925, *The Anthropology of Jesus Christ Our Kinsman Redeemer*, as the racial problem was at its height in the movement.

He similarly addressed the race issue in later publications and sermons, as, for example, *An Open Letter to a Southern White Minister*, which defends ‘intermarriage.’ Also, posthumously, his equally persuasive sermons were published in *For the Defense of the Gospel*, edited by Arthur M. Anderson, with one message entitled: “The Greatest Evil in This World is Race Prejudice.”¹¹³

Haywood’s responsive method, on the other hand, had tended toward a much more reconciliatory demeanor, holding out hope, perhaps, of reuniting the divided races. Jacobsen suggests that these were non-responses: “Lawson decided that *silence* had lasted long enough.”¹¹⁴ It was, therefore, time to be emphatic.

... the egotism of race-pride.... is causing many to think themselves better than other people; therefore, separating themselves in the body of Christ through shame of their brethren of the colored race. And because of this ungodly behavior, they are bringing upon themselves spiritual leprosy—typifying what came upon Miriam

¹¹³ *An Open Letter to a Southern White Minister* (Piqua, OH: Ohio Ministries, 1949; edited, 1995); *For the Defense of the Gospel*, Arthur M. Anderson, ed. (New York: COOLJC, 1971), including “Sparks from the Anvil,” July 1947, 326-328, “Prejudice,” August 1947, 328-329, “Make Full Proof of Thy Ministry,” May 1956, 404, and “The Greatest Evil in This World is Race Prejudice,” June 1957, 248-256.

¹¹⁴ Jacobsen, *A Reader*, 200; italics added.

when she murmured against Moses because of his Ethiopian wife. There are many of them murmuring today, especially among our White brethren in the South, because of colored brethren occupying prominent positions in the Church of Christ. Some even go so far as refusing to take credentials signed by a Negro. What a shame!¹¹⁵

Anthropology quotes extensively from experts on race in order to establish a ‘one blood’ motif (from Acts 17:26, KJV) for all races, requiring, therefore, “mixing the bloods of all” races in humanity’s kinsman redeemer, Jesus. As such, he argues, Jesus had “Negro blood in him,” thus, assuring that “our Savior isn’t wholly of any race.”¹¹⁶ Lawson sees this as guaranteeing the “absolute equality” of the races. “We thought sure,” Lawson laments, “that... the Apostolic people would teach these groups a wonderful lesson by example. We thought they would show that the true people of God are one regardless of what nationality or race they may belong.”

But today we find that this color proposition is the one thing that is separating many from the love of God. Whenever a people or a movement have encountered this proposition and have failed to walk according to the truth of the gospel, they have lost power with God, and have failed, as an instrument in his hands, in saving the world for Christ. How can we love and abide in God whom we have not seen if we cannot love without respect of persons our brethren—not separating on any grounds or reasons.¹¹⁷

No doubt, many had longed to speak so plainly, yet, compelled by a myriad of concerns, withheld confrontation and judgment. Of course, by experience Lawson knew well the varied grounds for separation, but not grounds based upon the unfathomable—a “respect of persons,” involving nothing more than the color of one’s skin. Douglas Jacobsen, whose *Thinking in the Spirit* offers an important analysis of Lawson’s views, suggests, by way of introduction, that no “ethnically identified group of Christians could claim the movement as their own. It belonged to everyone.”¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Lawson, *Anthropology*, 33.

¹¹⁶ Lawson, *Anthropology*, 47, 40, 35.

¹¹⁷ Lawson, *Anthropology*, 34, 33.

¹¹⁸ Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 260.

According to Jacobsen, Lawson was the “first person in the pentecostal movement to address race with any degree of sustained theological attention,” with expressions suggesting possible influences from Lawson’s popular contemporary New York Black leader Marcus Garvey. The historical emphasis of the *Anthropology of Jesus Christ* is a depiction of the Black race as a people undeniably worthy of the respect of every race.¹¹⁹

According to Anderson, the “typical Pentecostal attitude” toward the KKK was that of inactivity, or silence, in the face of racial injustice. Glenn A Cook, long an interracial advocate, nonetheless, made the astounding suggestion that the KKK was, “no doubt... at least permitted by the *Lord* to curb” Catholicism. He did, though, add the clarification that “we could not bow down and worship a fiery cross and don the hood.”¹²⁰

Lawson simply did not attempt to mollify his listeners or readers, or the ‘soft peddlers,’ by attempting to alleviate their responsibility by ignoring or shifting blame, for example, or by criticizing others, such as Haywood, or his handling of the events, or by putting the blame off on culture. Haywood and Lawson’s goals were clearly the same.¹²¹ Lawson often had wielded criticism of Haywood, but, in this situation, he exercised obvious restraint.

In a 1957 sermon on race prejudice Lawson, again, referenced what he saw as the enormous detriment of the acceptance of racist logic by the Jesus’ name church, and lamented its lack of agents of change.

This, the Pentecostal people ought to have seen long ago and lifted up their voices against the iniquity.... But as a whole, nothing has been said or done but all the status quo of society have been accepted or supinely submitted to and a pattern followed. Up

¹¹⁹ On the other hand, parallel expressions between Garvey and Lawson weren’t inclusive of Garvey’s pan-African philosophy; see, Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 263.

¹²⁰ Anderson, *Disinherited*, 191; Glenn A. Cook, “The K.K.K. and Romanism,” *Messiah’s Coming Kingdom*, Los Angeles, December 1928, no. 9, 1; italics added.

¹²¹ Cf., also, Marlon Millner, “Love Lived: The Body as Pentecostal Theology in Robert Lawson’s ‘Anthropology of Jesus Christ Our Kinsman,’” M. Div. Thesis, Harvard Divinity School, 2005.

until this day, even after the Supreme Court of the United States declared unconstitutional, unlawful and unrighteous the entire system of race segregation, no White Pentecostal movement has declared its stand and support and advocacy of this revolutionary edict, and begun to put into practice desegregation.¹²²

6.11 Conclusion

Although the racist dilemmas of the twentieth century American context were a wilderness experience for African Americans, the restoration impulse within Pentecostalism, and especially the Azusa Street revival, built upon the all-flesh inclusive theology of Pentecost. Unfortunately, neither Christianity at-large nor Pentecostalism was able to mount an adequate theological response to racism and counter the spirit of the age. Instead, initial restorative impulses were held inconsistently and a failure to indict racism in action, as well as outright racism, signaled the death knell to interracial hopes in Pentecostal groups such as the Assemblies of God.

Oneness Pentecostalism remained persistent in its restorationist yearnings for original, pristine New Testament practice and continued to apply its counter-cultural orientation to the issue of race as best exemplified in the interracial PAW prior to 1925. Oneness perspective, following Haywood's lead, remained convinced that the color line of race was washed away in the crimson stream of blood. But signs of the movement's breakdown in commitment to its interracial vision appeared in the early 1920's with the expansive southern segment of the movement resisting the PAW arrangement, especially with the accompanying expansive growth of the African American segment of the PAW.

In openly divisive actions which were incongruent and completely out of step with their earlier restorative convictions, a large segment of southern ministers determined to eradicate the interracial aspect of the PAW. The Texas attempt to relegate African Americans to a separate organization was soundly defeated and 70-80% of the White

¹²² Lawson, "Race Prejudice," in *Defense*, 249.

ministers walked out of the convention. Haywood's efforts in the end failed, and like the earlier events within the AG, African American Oneness Pentecostals once again knew a wilderness of betrayal and the aftermath of decimated allegiances.

Comprehending the reasons or excuses for redrawing racial lines for which so much energy had been expended to erase is certainly complex and difficult. But the corporate urge for respectability, the appeal of the pragmatic, and the ever-present cultural pull ultimately led to the patronization which obliterated the restorative ideology which had kept their interracial commitments intact. For Oneness Pentecostalism this commitment meant that they were experiencing a triple rejection of social disinheritance, religious heresy, and cultural stigmatization.

Even as Haywood attempted to restore order Lawson's assessment was resoundingly emphatic—the activism of White Oneness Pentecostals in splintering the movement racially was spiritual leprosy! He called the movement to reject the cultural sin of racism and desegregate once again, an action which would not remotely begin again for more than fifty years. Lawson's appeal was based on the identical ideology which integrated the movement in 1906, a Savior Whose blood included the races of all humanity and set the church at variance with society. Like Haywood, whose interracial advocacy Lawson carefully refrained from criticizing, he remained convinced that the color line was washed away in the blood of Christ.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Haywood Era in Oneness Pentecostalism – The Reshaping of Its Legacy and Organizational Context (1925-1931)

7.1 Ramification of Racial Reversals in the Developing Oneness Movement

The abrupt 1924 schism within the PAW put a decisive and jolting end to the interracial era within early Oneness Pentecostalism. But the ramifications of that breach of relationship were a far-reaching impact upon organizational diffusion, non-uniformity and disunity, alienation, disruption of effort, and, of course, racial segregation and disparity. The subsequent development of the movement was characterized by destabilization and increasing division and independency throughout, beginning with the White disparate organizational attempts.

The problem was put succinctly by Haywood, as Golder noted, as having been the result of the lack of backbone. In an article entitled “Men With Backbone,” he articulated the problem and condemned the practice of racial segregation.

If ever there was a place where there should be no distinctions made between races and nationalities in their common fellowship, it ought to be in the true church of God. A secular minister said recently that the church must do its part to put down this terrible growing race hatred. To prove their sincerity in this matter, ministers of various churches exchange pulpits in many of the large cities of the East and the middle-west. If they can do it, what is the matter with the people who claim to have more of the grace of God than they?¹

This rhetorical question, posed by Haywood, was at the center of the issue over racial prejudice and separation—“What is the matter?” The fact that they had “more of the grace of God” than “secular” ministers should have made a difference. Unfortunately, Oneness Pentecostalism in the last half of the 1920’s was in a highly tenuous phase of

¹ G. T. Haywood, “Men With Backbone,” *Christian Outlook*, April 1928, cited in Golder, *Haywood*, 63.

development, hardly discernible to most, and obscured by urges for pragmatism and a yearning for some degree of societal normalcy.

An abrupt ‘walk-out’ of the majority of White, and the immediacy of pragmatism, nonetheless, in the context of impulsive disbandment, was clearly not in the long-range best interest of the movement. Only eight years earlier, at the AG Council meeting, the Oneness proponents, though stunned by the rejection, had walked out together, Black and White, men and women. Now, with the calloused estrangement of nearly half of the entire Oneness movement in the United States, based on race, considerable havoc, and an unnecessary degree of destabilization, was wreaked upon the movement.

From no vantage point, even that of erroneous triumphalism or social accommodation, can the disruptive consequences of the rupture be even remotely justified—the subsequent abandonment of the interracial commitment, the schism from the Black PAW ministers and minority White ministers, and the reversion to all-White Oneness ministerial bodies. Perhaps the most impacting of the far-reaching ramifications, though, related to the protracted splintering and alienation. Preferment and promotion of racial segregation, in effect, ended all meaningful hope of a broadly unified movement.

On another level, neither could Oneness Pentecostalism now benefit from the advantage of a cohesive front by which, for example, it might impact the broader movement. Instead, ethnic centers of Oneness Pentecostalism in the U.S., along with their burgeoning mission centers, and the emerging autochthonous Oneness bodies around the world, developed in virtual isolation from each other, as well as from mainstream Pentecostalism and Christianity in general. While the reorganized 1925 Pentecostal Assemblies of the World was adequately resilient, prompt in establishing its new leadership, relatively quickly recovered, the overall long-term impact of the rift

between the White and Black segments of the movement has been virtually incalculable and has certainly never been reconciled.

The White disregard for interracial cooperation, with the resultant disintegration of the integrated PAW, on that fateful “Black Thursday,” as some, such as Tyson, have dubbed it, might have inflicted even more harm, had it not been for the resolve of White and Black ministers alike in the PAW to buttress their originating principles rooted in the Azusa Street revival. Certainly, those who knew Haywood best knew him as the preacher’s preacher, the quintessential representative, “immaculate in dress,” yet, in exemplary demeanor, likewise. This “quiet, determined man,” as observers characterized him, with what Smith considered a “melancholic temperament,” remained consistent and offered steady guidance to a disrupted Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.²

Decades of White organizational disunity and the surge of independency were part of the price of segregation belying an underlying disregard for the bond of fellowship which their common message had previously guaranteed. The galvanized organizational segregation which ensued would indeed impact the movement and the PAW for generations. Yet the indifference to the premium assets of unity which had been central to the movement did not dissuade everyone from their interracial vision or from lifting the ailing PAW from neglect to restructured organizational success.

7.2 The Black Majority, White Minority, and New Structure of the PAW (1925)

In spite of the interracial devastation in the PAW Haywood was able to set the tone of reaction to the heavy blow of disappointment with positive advancement. Abandonment and the feeling of betrayal could not be allowed to cause the rest to falter, including the significant number of Whites who had stood with the PAW. Therefore, it is quite evident that Haywood allowed very little proverbial moss to gather in the months

² Peagler, *Haywood*, 49, citing Golder; Bundy, “Haywood,” in *Portraits of a Generation*, 237; Garrett, *Haywood*, 78, citing Smith.

following the parting of the ways. The well-known healing evangelist F. F. Bosworth was one of the speakers at Haywood's 15th Annual Convention, as was A. D. Urshan, just weeks afterward and it continued to be business as usual.³

The Indianapolis church, too, had only just been renamed "Christ Temple." The Old Testament temple theme of God's presence and glory, the interracial 1200-member congregation, and the nearly 2000-seat new edifice served as a most opportune symbol of the collective pride of the entire PAW. The completion of Christ Temple, the first overflow crowd service, Thanksgiving Evening at the convention, in the face of Indianapolis' severe race restrictions, symbolized all the more the PAW's determined resolve.

During 1924, perhaps the year of the Klans' greatest influence in Indiana, Haywood dared to break yet another taboo. In Indianapolis, the area north of Fall Creek was off-limits for African Americans.... Haywood purchased a number of vacant lots used primarily as a dump. The city... assumed that any African American enterprise north of Fall Creek would fail.⁴

This is not, of course, indication that Haywood's leadership had not been tarnished or weakened by the loss of White support and the precipitous collapse of interracial harmony within the movement. In the divisional chaos Haywood himself certainly faced, not merely the brunt of White rejection, but something of an undercurrent of Black dissent and disapproval, as well, which contributed, in turn, to an ebb and flow of losses and set backs within the PAW.

With Doak's resignation in 1923 and the decision to abolish the office of chairman, the PAW was left without a designated leader for two years. In spite of this

³ The convention was held in November 1924, see, "Indianapolis Visit," *Witness of God*, January 1925, 61st edition, vol. 7, 8; Bosworth, a Trinitarian, had published his popular book on healing, *Christ the Healer*, in 1922; see, also, reports of the Cadle Tabernacle meetings, "Bosworth Campaign in Indianapolis," *Christian Outlook*, January 1925, 4.

⁴ Bundy, "Haywood," in *Portraits of a Generation*, 250; Peagler, *Haywood*, 67-68.

being the crucial period in which the PAW was being rent asunder by racial division, Haywood almost certainly would have been elected chairman had the office not been eradicated. Instead, that would not occur until September 25, 1925 when the PAW completely reorganized under a preferred episcopal church government, created a Board of Bishops, and, then, elected G. T. Haywood as its first Bishop. F. K. Smith from Columbus, having recently left COOLJC to join the PAW, became the General Secretary.⁵

If the peak interracial roster for 1925 was 1200, as Tyson reports, there was evidently a resulting slow-down in ministerial expansion for both Blacks and Whites, and, possibly, the loss of a number of ministers. The percentage of loss, Black or White, would be impacted, of course, if Blacks had begun to actually “outnumber” Whites in the PAW, which is an unverified, but suggested, possibility.⁶ Nevertheless, by late 1926 the PAW could report only 556 ministers, indicating that the PAW had approximately 200 churches.⁷ By late 1930, with 683 ministers, the PAW had approximately 250 churches.

Although only a minority of these were White churches, both of the PAW’s national boards, the Board of Bishops and the Board of District Elders, continued to reflect the PAW’s continued commitment to interracial organizational vision. In spite of the withdrawal of every White Board member in 1924, the PAW, with its new White minority of about 20%, immediately made G. B. Rowe and A. F. Varnell Bishops. In 1927 J. A. Rayl replaced Varnell and in 1929 A. W. Lewis replaced Rayl.⁸ The PAW

⁵ Peagler, *Haywood*, 84-85; Smith, *A Devout Man*, 26-27.

⁶ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 248, suggesting, possibly, that the withdrawing Whites remained on the PAW rosters for some time after their withdrawal; Peagler, *Haywood*, 81.

⁷ See, *1926-1927 PAW Minute Book*; cf., 642 in 1927 and 618 in 1928, see, *1927-1928 PAW Minute Book* and *1928-1929 PAW Minute Book*.

⁸ Urshan, though vacating his 1924 position and joining the ACJC, also remained with the PAW into the 1930’s, see, *1930 PAW Minute Book*, 26; see, Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 249, *1927 PAW Minute Book*, 1, *1929 PAW Minute Book*, 1.

interracial resolve and intentionality had never encompassed a submission to White dominance, but meaningful fulfillment of an every-people-vision of Pentecostalism. The 1930 national Board of District Elders, for example, reflected a considerable White PAW presence with its 33 member leaders boasting one Hispanic and 14 Whites.⁹

The Black/White rift appears to have resulted in temporary slowed organizational expansion within the PAW and the reorganizing White bodies. The combined total, by 1927, in the newly forming White groups was 458 ministers, inclusive of the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, Emmanuel's Church in Jesus Christ, and the Pentecostal Ministers Association. What is significant with this total is that it is not the estimated 600 or more White ministers that had exited the PAW in 1924. The discrepancy in the number of White ministers was due to additional organizational diffusion resulting in varied contingents, such as the PAW White minority, the emergence of lesser known new White groups, various wait-and-see factions, and a strong contingent opting for total independency.

Some of the PAW White minority remained simply as a show of support, and as a protest against the majority disruption of racial unity, although many of them, at the same time, were members of all-White groups. They were, evidently, uneasy with, and regretful for, the White legacy of distrust. A photograph of the 1929 Illinois District Conference of the PAW in Centralia, for example, indicates that only five of the 32 ministers present were African American, and that the majority of Whites who were shown to have been PAW were also, though, part of White groups.¹⁰ Foster's observation

⁹ See, *1930-1931 PAW Minute Book*, including, P. Banderas, N. Wall, J. Nelson, H. Alvey, G. Russell, T. Russell, E. Burrell, S. Burrow, G. Nichol, D. Dainty, B. Blunt, F. Curts, H. Curtis, B. Pettiford, and C. Lundquist; other members included, R. Cook, G. Carlisle, Bennie Nelson, H. White, N. Bibbs, B. David, A. Urshan, T. Urshan, H. Nigh, L. Spillman, and others.

¹⁰ *Historical News*, vol. 18, no. 3, April-June 1999, 4, including Odel Cagle, Nora Baker, L. C. Hall (a PMA official, 1925 and 1926), Harry Blunt, and Ben Blunt.

is interesting here: “Not all the White ministers of the north went along with any of these groups, preferring to stay with the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.”¹¹ Therefore, the withdrawal had been perceived as a southern walkout so thorough that only northern White ministers remained with the PAW.

The consequences of impetuous separation included, therefore, resentment between Whites for the irreversible damages inflicted upon their African American friends and the movement as a whole. Others, such as A. W. Lewis, and later, R. P. Paddock, were so outraged by White indifference and racial unconcern that they refused identification with White organization.¹² By the 1930’s, though, many were beginning to exit the PAW for White counterparts. Nevertheless, the PAW’s extensive interracial legacy includes two White Presiding Bishops, Paddock and L. C. Brisbin, of the eight Bishops to serve since Haywood.

7.3 White Organizational Diffusion, Separation, and Independency (1925-1931)

The disunity and destabilization was nowhere more evident than in the divisive impact upon White Oneness Pentecostalism itself, with scores of groups forming across the country and with many opting for independency. The Oneness movement was now more closely mirroring in this regard what was also happening in Pentecostalism as a whole. The Oneness message had now become no more sufficient a rallying point of unity than the theological positions of other segments of Pentecostalism had been. But this had not become evident within early Oneness Pentecostalism until the racial division within the closely watched Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. Nevertheless, the African Americans in the PAW, however, appear to have been both energized and, within a relatively brief time span, solidified by the difficult events of the 1924 schism.

¹¹ Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 79.

¹² Paddock, *Apostolic Heritage*, 52-56.

7.3.1 Disparate Organizational Efforts of Exiting White Ministers

Three southern dominated White groups, the ACJC, ECJC, and PMA, emerged early in 1925, the very groups which would eventually amalgamate into the United Pentecostal Church in 1945 twenty years later. But the process of decades evidences the representative lack of White unity and pervasive division at the time of the walk-out in 1924. Two small groups formed separately in early 1925 which totaled approximately 125-150 ministers, the Apostolic Churches of Jesus Christ in St. Louis and the slightly smaller Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance which formed in February in Jackson, Tennessee with 60 ministers.

Within eight months, the PMA was already splintered. Ministers left the PMA to form their own third group, the Emmanuel's Church in Jesus Christ, which organized in October 1925 with 50 ministers in Houston, Texas. Although organizing with few, if any, Black ministers, the ECJC reportedly established an African American ministerial policy, essentially equivalent to that rejected by the PAW just one year previous. African Americans were to be credentialed in the southern-based ECJC with "full rights," but, when large enough, they were promised a separate administrative organization, which was to work in harmony with, and therefore, *under*, the White ECJC.¹³

The ECJC was concentrated in Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma, originally under Lyons and G. C. Stroud. Little is known of the earliest history and ministerial roster of the ACJC, except for its founders and Missouri base. The PMA, though, was known to have been concentrated in Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Louisiana, Indiana, and Idaho.¹⁴

The substantial growth of southern Oneness Pentecostalism would, in fact, eventually secure the dominance of this all-White segment of the movement, its

¹³ Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 62.

¹⁴ See, for example, Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 44-137; *Our God Is One*, 81-83.

amalgamation into one organization, the UPCI, the attraction of Whites throughout all the other regions, and its growth into the largest body of Oneness churches in the U.S. That eventuality would not begin to unfold in Haywood's lifetime, or even the following decade, not, in fact, until the decade of the 1940's. The fledgling ACJC and PMA, along with the other separate organizations, independents, and indigenous groups were known to Haywood, but the later well-known names of PAJA and PCI were not created until after his 1931 passing. In 1931 the PAW and ACJC, which was the now merged ECJC/ACJC, merged to become PAJC, Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ. And the PMA changed its name in 1932 to the PCI, Pentecostal Church, Inc.

In the 1920's, though, in danger of accentuated mediocrity in their divided condition, the ex-PAW White ministers who comprised these new organizations seriously needed solutions for reuniting. Unfortunately, before they would actually be united, as they had been formerly in the PAW, it would require two decades of effort and not less than ten merger attempts.

Not surprisingly, Haywood very likely held out reasonable hopes, early on, for the possibility that the majority of Whites might be reunited in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, at least until the prevailing preference for all-White, separatist organizational structures became more and more apparent and entrenched.

As an early positive advance in this direction, the ECJC and ACJC merged in Guthrie, Oklahoma in 1927, with about 70 ministers attending, retaining at first the name ECJC. But, in 1928, the name changed to ACJC, with 'Churches' becoming 'Church.'¹⁵ A convention photo included the leaders, W. H. Lyons, W. H. Whittington, and Ben Pemberton, who became chairman at the merger, as well as B. H. Hite, C. P. Williams, O. F. Fauss, Nora Baker, W. R. Pair, and one unidentified African American minister. The

¹⁵ Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 67-68; Foster, *Think It Not Strange*, 78.

first ECJC chairman, Texas minister W. H. Lyons, was Spirit filled in a Millicent Goss revival in 1910 in Texas.¹⁶ ACJC leaders Whittington and Pemberton were St. Louis pastors. Whittington, though, temporarily withdrew in November over the tentative retention of the “ECJC” nomenclature. By 1928, the ECJC elected Fauss as Chairman. The early PMA was headed first by Hall, then Goss.

The 1927 ECJC/ACJC merged roster indicates a total of 3 missionaries and 174 ministers, with 67% being from two southern states, Texas, with 40%, and Louisiana, 27%. Wide fluctuation in ministerial affiliation, especially new affiliation, was commonplace with these emerging bodies. By 1929, for example, fluctuation in regional affiliation in the ACJC lowered the overall Texas percentage to a ‘mere’ 25%. Texas dominance, however, in White Oneness Pentecostalism, now legendary, had clearly become established. Emerging regional, and even state, hegemony may have figured into the overall organizational morass temporarily characteristic of this ex-PAW segment of White Oneness ministers.¹⁷

The combined total of the three newly organized all White organizations, the ACJC, ECJC, and PMA, by 1930, with an estimated total of 600 ministers and 230 churches, was still not as large as the integrated Black, Hispanic, and White union of ministers within the reorganized 1930 PAW which had remained committed to an interracial vision. The PMA had 222 ministers in 1926, after the Tennessee churches, under Rodgers, joined in mass. And by 1930 the PMA had grown to approximately 360 ministers and 130 churches, whereas the merged ACJC/ECJC, now the ACJC, had grown to about 260 ministers in 100 churches. The ACJC and ECJC merger had reportedly

¹⁶ Treece, *Beulah*, 256-257, 252; Goss, *Winds*, 145-146.

¹⁷ *1927-1928 Minute Book and Ministerial Roster of Emmanuel's Church in Jesus Christ*, St. Louis, Missouri; although merged, the name was not change to ACJC until late 1928. Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 77.

anticipated uniting nearly “400” ministers, but by 1929 only 236 ACJC ministers were indicated as having joined.¹⁸

7.3.2 The Engendering of Increased Separatism and Independency

By the late 1920’s, Oneness leadership among Whites was also in flux. Opperman relocated, after 1920, to Dallas, then Lodi, California, near Sacramento, where he all but disappeared from leadership. Arkansas was no longer at the center of southern regional influence. Yet he served as the head of the controversial 1922 Southern Bible Conference, exiting the PAW in 1924, but was not instrumental in the development of the emerging new groups. Tragically, the 54 year-old Indiana-born scholar and Oneness statesman was killed in September 1926, along with five other occupants of the car, when they were struck by a Southern Pacific train in Baldwin Park in California.¹⁹

Whereas Goss is representative of early leadership which remained intricately involved in the organizational life of the movement, Glenn A. Cook and Frank J. Ewart represent the constant, strong influence of the tendency toward independency. Cook and Ewart had been the pioneer leaders of the movement in the west, and Opperman and Goss had been officials of the earliest Oneness bodies emerging in the south. Additionally, for example, Urshan, who was clearly a loyalist to the organizational cause, nevertheless symbolized this tendency quite well, carrying on his own active, separate ministerial paper, *The Witness of God*, well into the 1930’s.

Cook, however, the quintessential Oneness proponent, stated in his newly established periodical, *Messiah’s Coming Kingdom*, in 1927: “We have no credentials.”

¹⁸ Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 77, 56, 41, using a church to ministers ratio of 35%, indicative of the PAJC/PCI, see, the separate 1944 minutes.

¹⁹ *The Pentecostal Witness*, October 1, 1926, vol. 2, no. 12, 1; Mary Williams, “In Memory of Bro. Opperman,” *The Pentecostal Witness*, November 2, 1926, vol. 3, no. 1, 2.

He admits rather gleefully to his 5,000 subscribers that, he had been “turned out by everything we have joined so far.” “We can’t find anything that will have us.”²⁰

Goss, three years younger than Haywood, lived until 1964, served as an one of the key early Oneness leaders, and served as pastor in Toronto throughout the 1920’s and 1930’s. He was the major figure in the development of the PCI, resulting in his being elected first General Superintendent of the UPC, after the 1945 PCI and PAJC merger forming the UPC, a position he held through 1951.

Ewart (1876-1947), on the other hand, who had played the most prominent role in the emergence of the early movement, best represents the impulse of independency in Oneness Pentecostalism. Preferring independence, Ewart withdrew from the PAW in 1920.²¹ Although, Ewart and his Belvedere congregation were, at times, controversial, he continued to produce some of the movement’s most legendary theological works. Several have been republished periodically by the UPCI, including *The Name and The Book* (1936), *Jesus: The Man and the Mystery* (1941), *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (n. d.), and *The Phenomenon of Pentecost* (1947).²² By 1947, after the merger of the PAJC and the PCI, Ewart had joined the UPC while pastoring in Monterrey Park, California.²³

Emerging Oneness organizations, as well as an array of ‘independent’ Oneness congregations throughout the south, Midwest, and the west coast regions, were very much aware of the divisive disputes which raged within the earliest flagship Oneness body—the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. Such large-scale division was incapable of fostering unity, but served rather to engender fear in organizational power, confirming

²⁰ Glenn A. Cook, “Editorial,” *Messiah’s Coming Kingdom*, Los Angeles, 1927, no. 2, 2.

²¹ Cf., the discussion regarding Ewart in Howell, “People of the Name,” 101-102.

²² “A Tribute to Frank J. Ewart,” *Historical News*, January-March, 1989, vol. 8, no. 2, 2-4.

²³ *1947 Ministerial Directory of the United Pentecostal Church, Inc.* (St. Louis, MO: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1947), 81.

what many had already strongly suspected and feared. Many closest to the disputes, such as Baker in Oregon, already shaken by the earlier Frazee defections, were sufficiently frustrated as to be compelled toward a fiercely independent Oneness posture for many years. Others apparently lost confidence in organization as a vehicle for appropriately advancing the movement, while some evidently crafted similar excuses in the fostering of further divisions.

Initially, therefore, the new race based schismatic groups held little potential for uniting diverse factions throughout the U.S. In fact, the merger of three groups, the (1) PAW and (2) ACJC (1931), which became the PAJC, and later the PAJC and (3) PCI (1945), rather than resulting in one merged organization immediately resulted in four separate groups. These were the re-chartered, salvaged PAW (1932), a re-chartered ACJC (1932), a re-chartered PAJC (1945), and the UPC (1945).

In the case of the ACJC, for example, W. H. and Maud Whittington had always strongly advocated the use of the precise name – Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ. They therefore chose to ignore the 1931 merger and reorganized a small number of churches in 1932 under the original ACJC charter.²⁴

Another large splinter group during this time which separated from the PAJC was an indication of the continued proliferation of Oneness independency which began in 1924. The well-known minister, L. R. Ooton (1896-1976), from Tipton, Indiana, was instrumental in the 1941 schism from the PAJC, involving several hundred ministers throughout Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and West Virginia, with the establishing of the AMA, Apostolic Ministerial Association.

²⁴ Raymond Crownover, “Not Vain the Weakest: A History of the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ,” Paper presented at Gateway College of Evangelism, St. Louis, 1978, 5, 21-22; W. H. Whittington, *Pentecostal Witness*, January 1932, 2.

Also, another well-known leader, the head of the Texas PAJC, R. L. Blankenship, similarly led a schism in 1945 by establishing the separate Apostolic Church with a few hundred PAJC ministers. Later, with the eventual waning of some of these smaller groups, ministers were re-absorbed into the larger Oneness bodies, after this heightened degree of early separatism and independency.

The 1920's saw the origination of several large White groups, not necessarily connected to ex-PAW Whites, and they were mostly southern, but with a Midwestern presence as well. Some of these formed in pocketed areas across the region, as alternative regional bodies, challenging, more or less, the larger, national structural networks which were attempting to emerge. The most closely networked of these, concentrated in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Indiana, and Ohio, were the Assemblies of the Church of Jesus Christ in the Midwest, the Jesus Only Apostolic Church, and the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ. By 1930 they represented a total of approximately 60 churches. The JOAC and CLJC probably emerged in early-mid 1920's, and the AsCJC originated from a 1933 splinter from the PAJC. They merged in 1952 to form the Assemblies of the Lord Jesus Christ.²⁵

Other White ministers, some of which had been in the PAW, opted for a far more loosely organized network and formed the Cleveland, Tennessee based The Church of Jesus Christ by 1927. Independency impulses were strong and numerous other began in the 1940's to splinter into enclaves of localized leadership. Usually splintering over specifics regarding Oneness doctrinal details, splinter groups usually retained a form of the original name, "Church of Jesus Christ." By the 1930's the CJC had approximately

²⁵ Now the ALJC, see, Lou D. Mayo, *History of the Assemblies of the Lord Jesus Christ* (Memphis: Apostolic Word Press, 1989), 10; Joseph A. Nelson, "History of the Assemblies of the Lord Jesus Christ," paper presented at Indiana Bible College, Indianapolis, October 18, 1994; cf., www.aljc.org; Burgess and McGee, *Dictionary*, 29; Jones, *GSPM*, 651; Gerloff, *Plea*, 439; Howell, *People*, 170-171. The ALJC is now the second largest White Oneness group in the U.S.

100 churches, concentrated in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky.²⁶

Several small Sabbath-keeping churches, for example, maintained loose-knit separate fellowship short of organizational union. Another group of White ministers established a group of churches which believed in what is termed ‘spiritual communion’ or ‘bread of life’ teaching essentially disavowing literal communion of bread and wine. Some of these ministers had associated with the PAW, but with probably with less than 20 churches concentrated in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Mississippi they established the Associated Ministers of Jesus Christ in 1933 which later became the Associated Brotherhood of Christians.²⁷

Another splinter occurred over the doctrine of initial evidence. A. F. “Doc” Varnell was one of two White Bishops of the PAW appointed in 1924. He left the PAW in late 1920’s and in 1934 established the Evangelistic Ministerial Alliance with about 20 churches. The EMA was concentrated in Indiana and Illinois and later changed its name to Bethel Ministerial Association. The EMA (BMA), like Varnell, disavowed the common Oneness belief in tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit baptism.²⁸

Therefore, within a decade of Haywood’s passing, the movement saw the proliferation of not fewer than a dozen White organizations, a factor which contributed significantly to the widespread growth of independent Oneness churches, especially

²⁶ CJC, see, Boyd Lawson Interview, M. K. Lawson’s son, Cleveland, Tennessee, October 10, 1993; Holder and Cole, *Voice of the Pioneers*, 7, 22, 24-28, 36, 106, 131-134; see, also, Burgess, *Dictionary*, 211; Gerloff, *Plea*, 440; D. B. R. Jackson, “The Full Gospel Church of Jesus Christ,” University of Delaware, M.A. Thesis, 1973.

²⁷ AMJC (now ABC), see, *Articles of Faith of the Associated Brotherhood of Christians* (Hot Springs, AR: Goslee Printing, n. d.), 5; Charles E. Taylor, Jr., *Baptismal Passover* (by the author, 1971).

²⁸ James L. Wilson, *It Makes a Difference What You Believe* (Indianapolis, IN: Bethel Ministerial Association, Inc., n. d.); A. F. Varnell, “Fifteen Things Wrong with the Doctrine, that Teaches Speaking in Tongues is the Initial First Evidence of Receiving the Holy Ghost,” Tract, Santa Ana, CA, n. d.; Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 249, 261.

throughout the Midwest and the south.²⁹ These smaller bodies also provided a consistent venue of ministers and established congregations for the largest of the Oneness organizations, with the upward mobility of the more successful congregations resulting in a regular flow of ministers and churches from smaller to larger Oneness groups.

These White splinter organizations, not including the PAJC and PCI, constituted quite a sizeable, and competitive, body of churches, well over 200 churches by the mid 1930's. This sudden diffusion within White Oneness Pentecostalism represented, in itself, a form of independency. But, more significantly, the strength of the early independency impulse throughout the south, Midwest, and west coast has most often been underestimated, both in relation to these early alternative groups and the resistance to organizational structure on principle embodied in the independent movement. At least in the 1920's and 1930's, the unaffiliated White Oneness churches in these regions very likely numbered well into the hundreds. The 'organized' Oneness bodies could not but help become the repeated beneficiary of such a vast and growing reservoir of untapped churches and ministries.

Another glimpse into the dynamic relationship of the White movement's emerging centers, organizational impetus, and the independency impulse is evident in its growth concentrations and its largest mega-type churches. As would be expected, the four largest Oneness White congregations in the U.S., for example, are all centrally located within areas which have been major epicenters of high Oneness concentration and sustained early growth. These largest churches are in Arkansas (North Little Rock), Louisiana (Alexandria), California (Stockton), and Indiana (Indianapolis).³⁰

²⁹ The AMA and the AC emerged in the 1940's, probably initially involving a minimum of 200 churches, but contributed only later, though, to the increased independency impulse.

³⁰ Except for Little Rock, all are UPCI churches; see, *The Pentecostals of Alexandria*, www.thepentecostals.org, Christian Life Center, www.clministry.com, and

Yet one of these premier centers, the First Pentecostal Church of Jesus Christ of North Little Rock, Arkansas is evidently one of the largest White Oneness congregations in the United States, if not the largest, yet part of a considerably expansive network of independent Oneness churches.³¹ FPC, the most excellent exemplar of southern, long-term Oneness independency, was, originally, briefly with the ALJC, a group perhaps closest to the early independent impulse. Therefore, FPC has contributed to this heritage and benefited as the heir of a vast southern network, or rather, distinct networks extending far beyond the south, of hundreds of Oneness churches.³²

7.4 Expansion of Early Oneness Pentecostalism Worldwide (1915-1930)

Nevertheless, the protracted U.S. splintering of the movement over a period of two decades set the stage for an atmosphere of decentralized expansion within the context of the global movement. From the time of the initial rebaptisms in Jesus' Name to Haywood's untimely passing, the seventeen year period, April 1914 to April 1931, the movement was birthed from within the networks of early Pentecostalism, or, from the perspective of Oneness Pentecostal participants Ewart and Goss – the phenomenon of Pentecost and the winds of God.

As an exemplar of aggressive evangelism and expansion, few, if any, early churches could rival Christ Temple's success, commitment, and support of the Oneness movement's worldwide thrust. With proficient leaders such as Witherspoon, Haywood, Lawson, and others, as models of accomplishment, lending their genius and zeal to

Calvary Tabernacle, www.calvarytabindy.org. The largest Black Oneness churches, all with links to the PAW, are The Potter's House, Dallas, TX, www.thepottershouse.org, Apostolic Church of God, Chicago, IL, www.acog-chicago.org, and the City of Refuge, Los Angeles, CA, www.noeljonesministries.org.

³¹ See, Juanita Holmes Beall, *Mission Accomplished: The Story of Bishop A. O. Holmes* (North Little Rock, AR: by the author, 1986); Agnes Holmes, *Oceans of Blessings* (North Little Rock, AR: by the author, 2002).

³² Cf., also, Ryder, "Jesus Only Movement," 10-11.

organization, finance, literature production and missions, the movement grew rapidly, capturing the imaginations of dispossessed, albeit eager, recruits the world over.

Just how astute Haywood was concerning the state of the emerging Oneness movement can be seen in his straightforward assessment preserved an interview conducted by papers with the New York press in 1930. He estimated extremely accurately that Oneness Pentecostalism, that is, the widespread “connections” of the PAW at that time, had 250,000 in 2,000 churches. Certainly, no individual was better positioned or qualified to know the global Oneness situation.

The Pentecostal Assembly of the World has a membership of 250,000 representing America and foreign countries. There are 2,000 churches in the connection, three of which are in Palestine, ten in Jamaica, B.W.I.; two in Hawaii and four in Liberia. The connection contributes about \$900 a month to foreign work. The church has missionaries in Africa, Hawaii, Japan and India.³³

Haywood’s quarter of a million estimate has proven an excellent benchmark from which to begin analysis of early Oneness expansion during the Haywood era. Obviously, Oneness Pentecostalism was considerably larger than merely the PAW exclusively, but Haywood perceived of the PAW as representative of the movement as a whole and recognized the entirety of the movement as one entity to which he ultimately owed loyalty. He was certainly correct that within the short span of sixteen years from the time of the first rebaptisms in Jesus’ Name, from 1914 to 1930, more than a quarter of million, or the actual total of 260,000, comprised the Oneness movement worldwide.

Not less than thirty five Oneness organizations are known to have emerged by the dawn of the 1930’s, six Hispanic with half in the U.S. and half in Mexico, eleven Black

³³ These totals therefore included the entire movement worldwide, missionary-led and autochthonous, indicating that Haywood thought of the PAW as the overarching organizational symbol of the movement. Also, he continued to subsume the White constituency under the title PAW; See, Cleveland G. Allen, “Pentecostal Assemblies to End Session Friday,” *New York News*, August 27, 1930, 1, duplicated in Tyson, *Chalices*, 347; “Leaders at Convention Here,” *New York Amsterdam News*, August 27, 1930, 7; cf., Golder, *Haywood*, 68.

U.S., eleven White U.S., and seven other autochthonous groups. Each of the White Oneness groups, with the exception of the earlier GAAA which had merged with the PAW in 1918, organized after the racial divide in the PAW, and at least five were bodies with direct involvement in the PAW racial schism.³⁴

The majority of Black Oneness Pentecostal ministers, following the lead of Haywood and Lawson, adopted Finished Work theology, coalescing within three groups by 1930, the dominant PAW, COOLJC, and much smaller Emmanuel Tabernacle Baptist Church Apostolic Faith. Four Holiness groups emerged early on which did not accept the Finished Work ideology, the Apostolic Faith Mission Church of God, Church of God (Apostolic), Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God, and Oneness group of the Church of the Living, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth. And four ex-COGIC Black Holiness groups embraced the Oneness position later in the 1920's, the Glorious Church of God in Christ Apostolic, New Bethel Church of God in Christ (Pentecostal), Pure Holiness Church of God, and the Free Church of God in Jesus' Name.³⁵

Interestingly, the constituency totals for White and Black segments of the movement in the U.S. by 1930, taking into account estimates for known independents as well as interracial groups, were nearly equal, with 33, 870 Black Oneness Pentecostals in about 513 churches and 33,550 Whites in 510 churches. The 1960 *Yearbook of American*

³⁴ White groups – (1) GAAA (merged with/became PAW, 1918), (2) ACJC, (3) ECJC (merged with/became ACJC, 1927), (4) PAJC (merger name of PAW/ACJC, 1931), (5) PMA (renamed PCI, 1932), with lesser known histories for the (6) JOAC, (7) CLJC, and (8) AsCJC (now ALJC), the (9) CJC, the (10) AMJC (now ABC), and the (11) EMA (now BMA). Hispanic groups – U.S. (1) AAFCJ, (2) ACJ, (3) ACANJC; Mexico (4) ACFCJ, (5) LWC, (6) CGSC. Other autochthonous groups – (1) AFC (Hawaii), (2) SJC (Japan), (3) TJC (China), (4) IPC (Indonesia), (5) ECSA (Russia), (6) CPC (Yugoslavia), (7) ACOP (Canada).

³⁵ The (2) PAW (1906) and (2) ETBCAF (1916) were largely Midwestern, whereas (3) COOLJC (1919) was eastern. The (4) AFMCG (1916), (5) CGA (1897; 1919), (6) AOHCG (1920), and (7) CLGPGT (1920) were all southern based Holiness groups. Of the ex-COGIC groups (8) GCGCA (1921) was Midwestern, (9) NBCGCP (1927) was western based, and two were southern based, (10) PHCG (c. 1927) and (11) FCGCJN (1927).

Churches, although notoriously inaccurate with respect to African American updates, indicates that the gap between the size of the PAW and the size of the merged PAJC and Pentecostal Church, Inc. (formerly PMA), now having taken on the merger name of UPC, had widened significantly. While the thirty year increase from the Haywood era brought the PAW to about 50,000 in 600 churches, the UPC had 160,000 in 1,595 churches. As a matter of comparison, the 2010 PAW constituency was approaching an estimated 2 million worldwide, with approximately 2,000 U.S. churches.³⁶

7.4.1 Autochthonous Oneness Organization

The Canadian Oneness movement, originally under the PAW, established the “Apostolic Church of Pentecost of Canada” in 1921 under Frank Small and Goss’ leadership, with churches from east to west. Originally their strength was western, with additional early leaders such as R. Dawson, E. E. Lang, O. J. Lovik, J. A. Erickson, and E. W. Stories.³⁷

Beginning in 1922, in New Brunswick, an eastern stronghold was established at the Woodstock Convention, when the leader, Edgar Grant, and others, such as C. Crabtree, the Stairs and Flewelling brothers, R. Hathaway, G. Henderson, E. L. Jacques,

³⁶ Benson Y. Landis, ed., *Yearbook of American Churches-1960* (New York: National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1959), 86-87; COOLJC, by comparison, was reported as having 45,000 members in 155 churches. The official PAW-released statistics have not been updated since 1998, with 1.5 million worldwide and 1750 churches in the U.S., see, “The Association of Religion Data-Archives,” www.thearda.com (accessed July 9, 2007); The UPCI reported 4,063 U.S. churches in 2010, see, *Directory: United Pentecostal Church International (Incorporated) 2010*, with approximately 800,000, and a missions constituency of 1,927,480 in 24,942 churches and preaching points, see, Bruce Howell, “We Had Church,” *Pentecostal Herald*, January 2010, 37. The AWCF, of which the PAW, but not the UPCI or COOLJC, are a part, reported a 2010 membership 181 Oneness organizations, with 5.2 million members and 20,200 ministers, see, www.awcf.org (accessed February 18, 2011).

³⁷ ACOP: 4,000 in 60 churches (1930); “Pastor Frank Small Baptized,” *Meat in Due Season*, vol. 1, no. 9, December 1915, 4; Robert A. Larden, *Our Apostolic Heritage* (Calgary, AB: Friesen Printers, 1971), 92-97.

and Leonard Parent, were rebaptized.³⁸ Several were originally with the Davis Sisters' St. John work, such as B. McQuarrie, W. Ring, and M. Wright, or established other early works, including R. McCloskey, S. McConaghy, S. Steeves, H. Perkins, and W. Rolston.³⁹

The earliest of the autochthonous Oneness groups was established by Mexican immigrant ministers and churches which were among the earliest Oneness leaders. These Hispanic ministers emerged first in California as part of Seymour's Azusa Street revival but spread immediately into Mexico by 1914. As the Oneness Hispanic segment of the movement grew rapidly in the U.S. and in Mexico, the entirely indigenized network of ministers in Mexico organized in 1925 as the ACFCJ, Apostolic Church of the Faith in Christ Jesus.

By 1930 the more than 34 U.S. Hispanic ministers listed with the PAW from California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Chicago, including the leader, A. L. Nava, organized separately from both the PAW and ACFCJ that year as the AAFCJ, Apostolic Assembly of the Faith in Christ Jesus.⁴⁰ "If poor Whites and blacks were Jews and

³⁸ See, also, Appendix B: Profiles of Early U.S. Oneness Pentecostal Pioneers.

³⁹ Morehouse, *Pioneers*, 68-72, 24-25, 57, 76-78, 85-86, 185-186, 230-232, 301-302, 162-163, 164-169, 195-201, 242-248, 268-270. The eastern section withdrew from the ACOP in 1946 joining the UPC, with 16 New Brunswick churches, see, *1947 UPC Directory*, 82-83, and Larden, *Apostolic Heritage*, 161. The "UPC of Canada" has 241 churches, Ontario, with 75, and New Brunswick, with 61, being the largest districts, see, *2010 UPCI Directory*, 243-252.

⁴⁰ ACFCJ: 4,800 in 50 churches, 30 "small missions" (1930); AAFCJ: 1,800 in 30 churches (1930); By 1948 the ACFCJ had 125 churches and 75 small missions in Mexico, see, M. J. Gaxiola G., "Pentecost in Mexico," *The Pentecostal Herald*, February 1948, 3, and Kurt Bowen, *Evangelism and Apostasy: The Evolution and Impact of Evangelism in Modern Mexico* (Buffalo, NY: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 5, 41, 69, 75; The AAFCJ had 8,000 adult members in 152 churches by 1960, see, Clifford L. Holland, *The Religious Dimensions in Hispanic Los Angeles*, (South Pasadena, CA: Wm. Carey Library, 1974), 346; see, also, Manuel Gaxiola, "The Serpent and the Dove: A History of the Apostolic Church of the Faith in Christ Jesus in Mexico, 1914-1974," MA Research Project, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA, 1978; Kenneth D. Gill, *Toward a Contextualized Theology for the Third World: The*

Samaritans of the new Pentecost,” Ramirez has suggested regarding these disparate groups, “then Latinos were among the first gentiles, adopting many of the social and religious values of these similarly dispossessed, peripheral communities in North American society.”⁴¹

With rapid growth in Mexico, splinter groups developed in 1926, the Light of the World Church, now, with several million members, the largest Hispanic Oneness group worldwide, and what became known as the Christian Gospel Spiritual Church. In the U.S., in 1927, two groups broke with the ACFCJ, the Apostolic Church of Jesus and the Apostolic Christian Assembly of the Name of Jesus Christ.⁴²

At the time of the 1924 PAW schism in the U.S. a small group of churches in Hawaii which were Holiness sanctification adherents under Charles Lochbaum also established a separate autochthonous identity as the Apostolic Faith Churches.⁴³ Therefore, in addition to the separate Canadian and six Hispanic groups which had formed, three in the U.S. and three in Mexico, six other autochthonous bodies had formed by the 1930’s. Although in some instances doctrinally and culturally suspect to many Oneness ministers, leaders, and missionaries from the U.S., these indigenized groups were nevertheless symbols of both intrigue and pride.

Though possibly related, the Hawaiian and Japanese groups formed separately from that of the much larger Chinese movement. Intensive missionary activity produced one of the largest Oneness centers of any mission field, but it was the totally separate,

Emergence and Development of Jesus’ Name Pentecostalism in Mexico (New York: Peter Lang, 1994).

⁴¹ Daniel Ramirez, “Pentecostal Praxis: A History of the Experience of Latino Immigrants in the Apostolic Assembly Churches of the United States,” Society for Pentecostal Studies, Lakeland, FL, November 9, 1991, 3.

⁴² LWC: 3,200 in 45 churches (1930); CGSC: 1,000 in 25 churches (1930); ACJ: 300 in 6 churches (1930); ACANJC: 150 in 4 churches (1930); Inclusive constituency, not merely adult membership, see, Gill, *Contextualized Theology*, 363, 75-89.

⁴³ Howell, “People of the Name,” 181.

indigenized forms of the movement, the True Jesus Church, which soon became the largest Oneness bodies worldwide. The leaders of the extremely aggressive True Jesus Church broke with missionaries in 1917 over Sabbath-keeping. By 1930, approximately 45,000 in 330 churches were swept into the TJC, and 129,000 in 1,000 churches by 1949.⁴⁴

Two other Asian centers of Oneness expansion, Japan and Indonesia, were not only missionary success stories, but probably due to the Chinese influence, soon became indigenized forms as well, with the emergence of the Japanese Spirit of Jesus Church, largely a house church movement, and the Indonesian Pentecostal Church.⁴⁵

In Eastern Europe and Russia scores of Oneness congregations were established without affiliation, due largely the challenge of communism, but several united with the Evangelical Church in the Spirit of the Apostles, in Russia, and the Christ Pentecostal Church of Yugoslavia.⁴⁶

The autochthonous Oneness groups by 1930 had grown to an estimated 95,580 in Mexico, China, Japan, Indonesia, Russia and Eastern Europe, although close to half of the total was in China. Black, White, and Hispanic churches in the U.S. and Canada,

⁴⁴ Paul E. Kauffman, *China: The Emerging Challenge* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1982), 139.

⁴⁵ SJC: 7,300 in 60 churches and 30 house churches (1930); Kumazawa Yoshinobu and David L. Swain, eds., *Christianity in Japan 1971-1990* (Tokyo: The Christian Literary Society of Japan, 1991), 184-187; Neil Brown, *Laity Mobilized: Reflections on Church Growth in Japan and Other Lands* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 37, 98, 132, 171, 205-207; The most recent statistics are the most phenomenal, listing the SJC with 420,000 in 477 churches (and house churches) in 1995, although these are actually worldwide figures, see, Barrett, *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 418. IPC: 12,000 in 130 churches (1930); Frank L. Cooley, *The Growing Seed: The Christian Church in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Christian Publishing House, 1981), 64-72.

⁴⁶ ECSA: 4,900 in 70 churches (1930); J. L. Hall, "Oneness Pentecostal Origins in the Soviet Union," Part One, *Pentecostal Herald*, November 1991, 4-5, 22-23; "Early Pentecostals in Russia," Part Two, December 1991, 3-5; CPC: 1,050 in 30 churches (1930); Jan Balca, *My Life With God: Autobiography of Jan Balca* (Hazelwood, MO: by Samuel Balca, 2005), 79-171.

independent Oneness congregations, and indigenized forms of the movement around the world conservatively totaled 153,000 in 1,563 churches.

7.4.2 Oneness Pentecostal Missionary Expansion⁴⁷

In addition to these groups, several of the indigenized forms of Oneness Pentecostalism also resulted from a missionary presence which encouraged autochthonous independence, partly a consequence of the Oneness independency impulse, but also due to the early organizational turmoil in the U.S. Although Mexico's indigenized movement was not related to missionary activity, its proximity to the American movement and the conversion of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. was a determinative influence. Destabilization caused by division in the U.S. merely reinforced suspicion of creeds and man-made allegiances.

The earlier period from 1914-1921 was certainly characterized by missionary vacillation between Trinitarian and Oneness loyalties, but the later eruption of division within the Oneness movement was sufficient to cause some to return to the security and support of previous allegiances or in many cases to reach out to new areas of support and fellowship. Several Oneness missionaries, such as Phoebe Holmes and Ralph Phillips, for example, who had both been in China, are known to have returned to Trinitarian groups during this period.⁴⁸ Some, such as George White in Jamaica, tired of the racial division and confusion and simply organized separately into new groups.⁴⁹

The missionary fluidity during this time was sufficient to make it difficult at times keep track of the varied allegiances. Scores of missionaries embraced the Oneness movement throughout the early period, but many returned to Trinitarianism as well. For a

⁴⁷ See, Appendix C: Early Oneness Pentecostal Missionaries (1914-1930)

⁴⁸ Blumhofer, *McPherson*, 22, and Urshan, *Witness of God*, vol. 9, 64th edition, May 1925, 1.

⁴⁹ Nicole Rodriguez Toulis, *Believing Identity of Jamaican Ethnicity and Gender in England* (Oxford, England: Berg, 1997), 113.

time some were active in both Oneness and Trinitarian fellowships. Missionary Robert F. Cook in Bangalore, India, for example, was variously with the AG, an independent, and then the Church of God. He was also rebaptized, according to Ewart's *Meat In Due Season*, and then led to baptize all converts in India "in the scriptural way."⁵⁰ Although he received early financial support as a "PAW mission" and was featured on a 1923 cover of the PAW's *Christian Outlook*, he does not appear to have ever credentialed with the PAW. And after 1926 Cook's vague association with the movement apparently ended.⁵¹

The interracial impulse, with its underlying idealism, was, in fact, a missionary impulse, tied inextricably to the fervor of Pentecost, to which early Oneness periodical attested. Of the 58 missionaries connected, prior to 1914, with Ewart's pre-Oneness periodical *The Good Report*, 31% transitioned into the Oneness movement. A bit later, extant issues of *Meat in Due Season* (1915-1919) list 31 missionaries, only two of which were not Oneness, although it is possible that they had been rebaptized and viewed, temporarily, as part of the movement.⁵²

The same holds for extant issues (1918-1921) of Opperman's *The Blessed Truth*, uncertainty exists regarding only two of the 65 missionaries listed. His mission data indicates that independency among missionaries was extensive. "There may be and probably are some other Pentecostal missionaries," he wrote, "who are one with us in the

⁵⁰ Carrie M. Pool, "An Open Letter," *Meat In Due Season*, June 1915, vol. 1, no. 6, 3; cf. "Robert F. Cook, *The New IDPCM*, 560-561; see, Charles W. Conn, *Where the Saints Have Trod* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1959), 219-22, regarding his Church of God (Cleveland, TN) involvement.

⁵¹ Cook received missionary funds from Haywood, see, *The Voice in the Wilderness*, September 1918, no. 24, 2; Reeder lists Cook as an early PAW missionary, see, Hilda Reeder, *A Brief History of the Foreign Missions Department of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World* (Indianapolis: PAW Foreign Missionary Department, 1951), 24-25, as does Tyson, *Chalices*, 255, based on *Christian Outlook* articles and photos of Cook, 229, 233; The Cooks are not known to have been supported by any other Oneness periodicals, including *Blessed Truth* or the pre-Oneness *Good Report*.

⁵² Cf., also, Ewart's *Phenomenon of Pentecost*, which includes 22 missionaries, only 9 of which, apparently, were Oneness, and Goss' *The Winds of God*, which includes 5, only 2 of which were Oneness.

faith. I will gladly add them to our list if their names and addresses are sent to me.” Only 30 of the 64 missionaries were listed in the 1919 PAW rosters, suggesting that Opperman was compiling a list of Oneness missionaries unrelated to affiliation.⁵³

By comparison, the PAW roster for the same year, 1919, listed 40 current or returned missionaries or missionary couples in 1919. In the previous years, though, as extant issues (1916-1918) of *The Voice in the Wilderness* indicate, Haywood continued support for Trinitarian missionaries after the 1916 AG expulsion of Oneness ministers, at least until the time of Frazee’s 1918 exit from the PAW. Even after 1924, interracial support remained a PAW norm. And Reeder, missionary ‘assistant secretary’ to Haywood, later noted:

Bishop Haywood was well known to the missionaries, better probably than any other man in the P.A.W. He had been in contact, either by letter or in person with many of them before there had been a P.A.W. He was missionary-minded far beyond the average At least no one can deny that he had their full confidence. They felt that at all times they had the full benefit of all his powers to aid them.⁵⁴

Analyses of primary and secondary sources indicate that there were a minimum of ninety six active Oneness missionaries and missionary couples by 1921 in China, Japan, Indonesia, Burma (Myanmar), India, Liberia, South Africa, British East Africa (Kenya), Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Hawaii, Alaska, Jamaica, Israel, Egypt, Armenia, Mesopotamia (Iraq), Persia (Iran), Russia, Yugoslavia (Slovakia), Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic), France, Switzerland, and Mexico. It is also known that during the 1920’s at least an additional sixty eight missionaries and missionary couples, including 12 American-financed national ministers, were added to the roster of Oneness missionaries of the early

⁵³ “Our Missionaries,” *The Blessed Truth*, vol. 4, no. 22, December 1919, 3; see, also, *1919 PAW Minute Book*.

⁵⁴ The PAW, for a short time, evidently, implemented support directly to ‘nationals,’ rather than ‘traditional’ American missionaries, so that, by 1930, only 11 out of 30 listed PAW ‘missionaries’ were actually ‘traditional,’ see, Reeder, *A Brief History*, 15.

era, which included the additional countries of Greece, Hungary, Poland, Estonia, and Cuba.⁵⁵

In the early 1920's the PAW sponsored, at the most, 20-25 missionaries annually, which decreased after 1924, and the later ACJC (ECJC), PMA, and ACOP supported even fewer, evidence, not of missionary attrition, but rather of rapid mission indigenization.⁵⁶ The racial division, certainly, resulted in missionary woes, such as organizational overlapping, short-term confusion, a jeopardizing of financial provision, defection and an acceleration of mission independency. Even the re-merger of the PAW/ACJC was promoted by Urshan in 1932 as for "the greater help to our missionaries," one indicator of the earlier missionary conditions.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, at least 164 Oneness missionaries were sent out during the early era, 1914-1930, to 28 countries, Hawaii, and Alaska. The majority of these missionaries, evidently, were 'independent,' which is another indicator of the extent of Oneness missionaries 'not yet accounted for' from this early period. The largest concentration of missionaries, 35%, was in China, with the second largest, 21%, in Africa, centered in South Africa and Liberia, with a few in Kenya. Europe, Russia, and the Middle East received 16%, with 9% in India, 7% in Jamaica, 4% in Japan, and 4% in Hawaii. And, in addition to the indigenized forms already noted, evidence suggests that several of the neighboring countries, such as Sierra Leone and Nigeria, were also being evangelized and impacted by these same missionaries.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ See, *1930 PAW Minute Book*.

⁵⁶ Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 49, 63, 95-96.

⁵⁷ Andrew Urshan, "Merger," *Pentecostal Outlook*, April 1932, 7.

⁵⁸ See, *The Good Report*, *The Voice in the Wilderness*, *The Blessed Truth*, *Meat in Due Season*, *Christian Outlook*, and Reeder's *Brief History*. The largest known collection of *The Good Report*, *Meat In Due Season*, *The Voice in the Wilderness*, and *The Blessed Truth*, 1913-1921, contains only 29 issues, or partial issues, a fraction of the original released publications.

Allan Anderson's study of early Pentecostal missionaries, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, includes approximately 243 missionaries in 43 countries, of which 29 (12%) are known to have joined the Oneness movement.⁵⁹ Many of the Oneness missionaries, though, not included in the study, were catalysts of expansion, yet their names appear on no early Oneness rosters. For example, Elmer B. Hammond received Spirit baptism in 1907 as a Salvation Army officer stationed in Hawaii. "The Lord told me I would have to leave the Army," he wrote to Azusa, "as I could not glorify God and be under men—I would have to be led by the Spirit."⁶⁰

By 1912 Elmer and Hattie Hammond, and Corabelle Hammond, his sister, later married to Frank Small in Winnipeg, were in Hong Kong, where they were the first rebaptized in Jesus' Name in 1914. He, in turn, baptized thousands in China. Robert Hammond, his younger brother, in California, was one of Ewart and Morse's early associates. The Chinese Oneness movement was initiated by these early missionaries, mostly single women missionaries, such as Alice Kugler, who later married Daniel Sheets, and who worked closely with Hammond.⁶¹ Missionary efforts such as these

⁵⁹ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007).

⁶⁰ Elmer B. Hammond, "Baptized in Honolulu," *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 7, April 1907, 3; cf., Elmer B. Hammond, "Missionary Letters," *Good Report*, November 1913, vol. 1, no 6, 1.

⁶¹ "We had one in our midst, Brother Elmer Hammond, who was a man of faith, filled with the Holy Ghost and power. His family lived in Hong Kong, but in order to help the Koo ne ong (unmarried girls) who manned churches up the country, he would travel, preach, administer the Lord's supper and baptize converts. He came to our station one night and preached ... He left the next morning for Canton and then he took the train for Hong Kong. They had traveled only a short distance when the engine jumped the track and plunged into an embankment. Robbers had derailed the track just around a curve which telescoped the first two cars. Here they found our brother with his Bible on his lap and his neck broken. Could it be possible that a man of God, whom we needed so much, would be taken away like that?" See, Alice Kugler Sheets, *Nuggets of Gold: Blessings, Health, Long Life* (Houston, TX: The Herald Publishing House, c. 1947), 13-14. Hammond died June 16, 1916. See, also, *Meat in Due Season*, Frank Denny, "From Hong Kong, China," September 1915, vol. 1, no. 7, 1, and Alma Hult, "Pentecost in China," vol. 1, no. 22, 1, 4. Hattie Hammond remarried Charles Wesley Storey and

resulted in a significant impact on the varied regions such as China, which continues to boast a notable Oneness constituency, especially the autochthonous TJC churches.

By 1920 the worldwide Oneness Pentecostal missionary movement, by conservative estimates, exceeded 62,000 in the known mission churches. Slightly more than a third of the works or 37% were independent Oneness missionary endeavors, which accounted for another 35,000. When these missionary constituencies are added to the above totals of U.S. and autochthonous groups, an independent estimate of a movement of more than a quarter of a million in 1930 is confirmed as Haywood had stated.⁶²

7.5 The Death of G. T. Haywood—April 12, 1931

The death of Haywood at the relatively young age of fifty was an unexpected loss which impacted every segment of the movement to which he had been such an inimitable figure from its origins. One of G. T. Haywood's robust worship choruses, "We Will Walk Through the Streets of the City," was likely one of his earliest since it was undated, appearing in earliest versions of *The Bridegroom Songs*. The song's musical emphasis of the phrase "*through* the streets" is lilted and reiterated as a bold promise, one held in excited anticipation of "loved ones who've gone on before." And the refrain, not unlike his own bequeathed legacy, evokes a consolation in the face of his own final life-claiming illness.

We now walk thru the valley and shadow,
Thru a world full of labor and strife;
But some day we shall walk with our Savior
Robed in everlasting life.⁶³

returned to China in 1920, Interview with Tracy O. Hammond, Freemont, IN, November 2006. See, also, Daniel Bays, "The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement," in *Pentecostal Currents in American Pentecostalism*, Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wacker, eds. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 52-54.

⁶² 260,000 in 2,660 churches; cf., also, Haywood's "2,000" church estimate used by Urshan in 1933, see, *The Witness of God*, January 1933, 2.

⁶³ "We Will Walk Through the Streets of the City," stanza #1, *Bridegroom Songs*, 68; Golder, *Life and Works*, 69; see, also, Garrett, *Haywood*, 192.

Golder included the sheet music of this song in his *Life and Works* history of Haywood as a most apropos final tribute to his life and legacy. “I have been true to God,” Haywood is said to have whispered to S. N. Hancock in his final days. “I have loved the brethren, I have done all I could for them, now I am tired and weary, and I want to go home.”⁶⁴ Not only was the true nature of his condition probably unknown, Haywood was evidently himself unaware of the extent of the severity of his own deteriorating health.

Reportedly, the PAW Convention in New York City in August of 1930 was especially fatiguing for Haywood due to strong eastern resistance led by Grimes. Tyson reports, for example, that Grimes was “very vocal.”⁶⁵ In contrast Haywood has been characterized as the model of “diplomacy and tact,” with Urshan referring to him as “so humble.” The convention photo, though, shows an inordinately stressed, if not ailing, leader of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World leader.⁶⁶ Evidently, Haywood may have actually been exhibiting evidence of inherited heart disease which had already been taking its toll.

A three month trip to Jamaica which Haywood began in January 1931 resulted in over exertion and his collapsing in New York City upon his return in March. Managing to finally return to his home in Indianapolis, G. T. Haywood, only fifty years of age, died on April 12, 1931, which, according to the death certificate, resulted from “acute cardiac dilatation” underscored by “cardio vascular venal disease.”⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Hancock’s sermon quoted in Garrett, *Haywood*, 175, and included in Hancock’s article to the PAW, “Haywood Funeral,” *Christian Outlook*, May 1931, 52-54.

⁶⁵ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 274, 277; see, also, Howell, “People of the Name,” 108, noting that a Grimes faction “questioned the financial operations.”

⁶⁶ Tyson, *Chalices*, 348, in which Haywood ‘appears’ ill, also, 316, 344; cf., Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, cover, and Golder, *Haywood*, 59.

⁶⁷ Peagler, *Haywood*, 86-87, and Garrett, *Haywood*, 153; Death Certificate, Marion County Health Department, duplicated in Garrett, *Haywood*, 151; see, also, Paddock’s suggestion that he “preached himself to death,” *Apostolic Heritage*, 51.

With the headlines “Thousands Mourn At Bishop Haywood’s Funeral” the Indianapolis *Recorder*, for which Haywood once worked, noted that Haywood’s funeral was one of the largest in Indianapolis history. He also noted that the services had what he thought to be an “unusually large number of White citizens” in attendance.⁶⁸ Honored by Blacks and Whites alike, the eulogies, and the more than 10,000 attendees, were a moving tribute to his scope of vision.

In a separate article, *The Recorder* noted again the exceptional memorial, “Honor Fitting Nation’s Head Accorded Haywood At Burial,” in which the reporter appropriately recognized Haywood as one “who played his part so infinitely well.”⁶⁹ Hancock, who had been one of his closest associates, was to Haywood’s side in April. And as the main funeral speaker he eulogized the life of G. T. Haywood as having been propelled by the “zeal of God” and “driven by the Spirit.” Twenty-three years of ministry, from 1908, according to Hancock, were marked with difficulties “because of the actions of his brethren.” “God said, I will take you away from the shame, reproach, and persecution. You have *fought* for twenty-three years, come and rest.”⁷⁰

The legacy of G. T. Haywood has been enduring and far-reaching, capable of rising above stereotypical limits and caricature to a realm of near legendary status within the movement which he not only helped originate but definitively shaped. To a great extent Haywood’s legacy was accomplished as the quintessential preacher, regardless of race, via his leadership skills, his handling of Scripture, his writings, and his music. All of these contributed to the wide ranging success of the movement in Indianapolis and the Midwest as a Oneness epicenter and in the interracial vision which characterized Oneness

⁶⁸ Gabriel Stanley, “Pentecostal Assemblies’ Bishop goes to Final Resting Place,” *The Recorder*, April 18, 1931, 1, 8; Garrett, *Haywood*, 158.

⁶⁹ Gabriel Stanley, “Honor Fitting Nation’s Head Accorded Haywood At Burial,” *The Recorder*, vol. xxxiv, no. 29, April 25, 1931, 1.

⁷⁰ Funeral Sermon, quoted in Garrett, *Haywood*, 179.

Pentecostalism from its inception. And the most tangible evidence of his legacy to the present, of course, is the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World itself.⁷¹

Seven months after Haywood's death, in an attempt to fulfill the interracial dream he had upheld in his lifetime, the PAW merged, once again, with an all-White GAAA-heir, the ACJC. The PAW Bishops had already decided, in honor of Haywood, to forego selection of a Presiding Bishop until 1932. Expectations of 'making history,' following the severe blow of losing such an icon, certainly motivated their efforts. As MacRobert has stated, "It looked as if the dead phoenix of interracial Oneness Pentecostalism was rising from the ashes of American racism."⁷²

"As we review it today," states Smith's biography, regarding the merger, "we cannot say what lay deep in the hearts of the men who broached the ideas." But, it adds, "If intents on both sides of the race line had been sincere, it would have succeeded.... Racism once again caused.... a bitter disappointment to those who had thought there would be a real merger of the two bodies."⁷³ Once again the efforts of integration were thwarted and, by 1937, the entire union dissolved, thanks to the foresight of those who re-established the charter of the PAW.⁷⁴

⁷¹ This is illustrated in the *Encyclopedia of African American Religions* inclusion of sixteen PAW leaders and six other Black Oneness leaders: PAW – Floyd Ignatius Douglas, Morris Ellis Golder, Samuel Joshua Grimes, Samuel Nathan Hancock, G. T. Haywood, John Silas Holly, Austin Augustine Layne, Benjamin Thomas Moore, Oscar Harwood Sanders, Alexander R. Schooler, David Thurman Shultz, Francis L. Smith, Karl Franklin Smith, Willie May Ford Smith, Freeman N. Thomas, and Joseph Marcel Turpin; Others – William Lee Bonner, Henry Chauncey Brooks, Sherrod C. Johnson, Robert Clarence Lawson, Jasper Roby, Jr., and S. McDowell Shelton; See, Larry Murphy, J. Gordon Melton, and Gary L. Ward, eds., *Encyclopedia of African American Religions* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993).

⁷² MacRobert, *Black Roots*, 76.

⁷³ Smith, *A Devout Man*, 31.

⁷⁴ In 1937, most of the remaining African American leadership, and some Whites, including Paddock, left the PAJC to join the PAW under Samuel J. Grimes. Another nine years would pass before merger efforts would be renewed between the now all-White PAJC and the all-White PCI. For the most part, though, White ministers who had joined the PAJC from the PAW did not return to the PAW Howell, "People of the Name," 112-

7.6 The Writings and Theological Legacy of G. T. Haywood

Observers of Oneness Pentecostalism are often taken with the theological vision and breadth of perspective in Haywood's prolific writings which few within the movement exemplified. The theological scope of his topical interests represented in his articles alone from over a span of twenty years is impressive. Many of his books and booklets were expansions of earlier articles which had been well received and had circulated for some time in various periodicals throughout the movement.

Interestingly, Haywood's success as a skillful communicator via the written page may have been one of the key factors in the corresponding success of uniting Black and Whites in an initial interracial Oneness vision. David Reed's history of the movement *In Jesus' Name* minimally, but accurately, suggests: "But I am convinced that in theological vision and ministry, Haywood exemplifies a holistic breadth of perspective and spirit that is likely formed and informed by his black heritage."⁷⁵

Douglas Jacobsen's analysis of Oneness Pentecostal early writers in *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* astutely devotes thirty six pages to Haywood's writings within a chapter which he refers to as the "Oneness Option." Jacobsen's work is not only significant in its inclusiveness of the movement as a whole, but it is quick to afford Haywood's contribution adequate consideration. "G. T. Haywood's publications," he notes, "contain the most wide-ranging theological vision

114; Also, in 1937, the PAJC passed a resolution "opposing" interracial marriage, requiring "that any of our ministers performing such marriages be disfellowshipped," "Minutes of the Sixth Annual Conference," *The Pentecostal Outlook*, November 1937, 21, 3; Smith, *A Devout Man*, 32; cf., the all-White 1938 PAJC Board, Clanton and Clanton, *United*, 101-102.

⁷⁵ Reed, *In Jesus' Name*, 4; cf., also, Marlon Millner's response, "One, One, One... One Way to God? A Review Essay of 'In Jesus' Name': The History and Beliefs of Oneness Pentecostals," *Pneuma*, 31:2 (2009), 275.

produced by any first generation pentecostal leader from either the Trinitarian or the Oneness wings of the movement.”⁷⁶

Haywood’s major areas of theological interest, as one would expect, have to do with the theologically relevant subject most critical to an apology of the key Oneness Pentecostal doctrines. These top-of-the-list interrelated theological issues begin with the three definitional aspects of the movement, Spirit baptism, the Oneness of God, and the new birth salvation experience. For Haywood these theologies were inclusive then of the discussions regarding truth, the Bible, the name of Jesus, and water baptism. He also branched out considerably into many other favorite themes including, for example, ecclesiology, worship, typology, tithing, healing, creation, divorce, remarriage, eschatological prophetic events, and gifts of the Spirit.⁷⁷

G. T. Haywood’s writings distinctly preserve an important part of his theological legacy, and the amount of written material makes it possible to review his doctrinal position and his characteristic theological processes and development. And like the majority of early Oneness leadership restorationist thought was the starting point and the grid through which he based his position. Clear examples of this overall assumption is seen as well in Ewart, Urshan, Cook, Goss, Lawson, Farrow, Fauss, and Roberts, all of which were representative of, not peripheral to, the movement’s early thought.

From Haywood’s perspective the central issue was that of truth verses traditions since he saw Christianity as being addicted to varied traditions and unable to break from them. Therefore, Haywood believed that he lived in the last days in which God was

⁷⁶ Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 197.

⁷⁷ For definitional theological considerations regarding Haywood’s view of Spirit baptism and tongues, see, sections 1.1.1 and 2.1.1, and the Name, see, 1.2; As to the frequently considered topic of divorce and remarriage, see, 5.6; see, also, *The Birth of the Spirit in the Days of the Apostles* and *The Resurrection of the Dead, Christian Stewardship*, and *The Marriage and Divorce Question in God’s Word: Exhorted, Revealed, Prophecied*, Harry W. Goodloe, Sr., ed. (Indianapolis: Christ Temple Printing Ministries Publication, n. d.), a collection of twelve of Haywood’s major works.

revealing truth like the unfolding of a rosebud. Rich symbolism often drawn from the Old Testament was the backdrop for this understanding, especially that which pertained to eschatological vision, such as Zechariah's prophecy concerning "light in the evening time." The symbol of Gospel light played a prominent role in this early perspective since it lent itself well to the idea of revelation. From this standpoint individuals simply needed to move forward in revealed truth.⁷⁸

Haywood readily applied such Old Testament symbols to the movement's central tenet, the Oneness of God and related Christological discussions, evident in the titles of some of his more prominent works such as *The Finest of the Wheat* and *The Victim of the Flaming Sword*.⁷⁹ Two of his other works on the Oneness issue are *Divine Names and Titles of Jehovah* and *Feed My Sheep*. Much of his earlier periodical articles dealt with Godhead themes in more than a dozen years of published material in *The Voice in the Wilderness* (1910-1922), eight years of producing and contributing to *Christian Outlook* (1922-1930), and articles in various other Oneness periodicals.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See, also, sections 1.1.2 and 1.2; G. T. Haywood, *The Finest of the Wheat* (Indianapolis: The Voice in the Wilderness, n. d.), 2-3; Haywood's eschatological emphasis is evident even the title – *The Finest of the Wheat*, being for Haywood another term for truth; cf., also the name of his hymnal, *The Bridegroom Songs*, referring to the Bride of Christ at the eschaton; similarly, Fauss spoke of walking in the light "step by step," linking restoration and light, O. F. Fauss, *What God Hath Wrought: The Complete Works of O. F. Fauss* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1985), see, chapter one; cf., E. N. Bell, "Questions and Answers," *Weekly Evangel*, August 11, 1917, 9; 1 John 1:7; Zech 14:7; Isa 28:13.

⁷⁹ See, also, sections 1.1.1 and 1.2.

⁸⁰ Ewart reported that he was distributing 10,000 copies a month of *Meat in Due Season*, March 1917, vol. 2, no. 2, 2; "200,000...since its first appearance" in mid-1914. It is doubtful, though, that *The Voice in the Wilderness* had as large a circulation, but it was, nevertheless, substantial. Only five issues of *The Voice in the Wilderness* have been available via OSI, October 1916, no. 18, December 1916, no. 19, January 1918, no. 22 [page one only], October 1918, no. 24, and a 1921 "Special Edition." The following issues of VW have been recently archived by AAI: July 1910; "Revival Edition," n. d.; Vol. 2, 1920; Vol. 2, no. 13, n. d.; Vol. 2, no. 14, n. d.; Vol. 2, no. 16, n. d. Also, more than half of the 108 issues of the *Christian Outlook* from 1923-1931 are available in the Apostolic Archives International, Springfield, MO.

As Haywood prepared for the AG General Council meetings in 1916 he prepared the September issues *The Voice in the Wilderness* in which six of the eight articles defended the Oneness of God, the Spirit's role in revelation, and the differentiation between the Oneness and the Trinity. Two of the most significant articles to appear in the entire controversy were those of Haywood, which were actually published multiple times in various periodicals, "The One True God" and "The Great Controversy."⁸¹

The enormous popularity and influence of these various articles was recognized by Haywood so that he later published a "Special Edition" *Voice in the Wilderness* in about 1921. In this edition he compiled twenty five sections of articles in the defense of the premise "that Jesus is the God of the Old Testament."⁸² These Haywood articles dealt with the broad implications of Oneness doctrine and intricate details, such as the Old Testament divine plurals, the significance of the right hand of God, and the question of eternal Sonship.

One aspect of his Christology was always distinctly apparent, as in the article "Jesus Is Both," that is, Jesus is both the Father and the Son, being both the one divine God and that same God in human manifestation.

... and behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days. In this there appears to be two separate persons, but in Rev. 1:7-15 we find that Jesus has the description of BOTH. In Isa. 9:6, Isaiah declares that the child that was born was BOTH the 'Son given' and the 'Everlasting Father' ... That Jesus is BOTH the God of Abraham, and the promised SEED of Abraham, ... My Brethren in the Lord, and Beloved of Jesus Christ our Savior, we write these things unto you that you might know, of a truth, that Jesus

⁸¹ G. T. Haywood, *The Voice in the Wilderness*, September 1916, no. 18: The Oneness of God – "Rose of Sharon," 1, "That Alabaster Box," 1, "Jesus Is Both," 1, "Trinitarianism," 2, "God's House," 2, "The Review of Some Articles," 2-3; Spirit baptism – "Wedding Garment," 1, 4; new birth – "The Word of God," 2. See, also, G. T. Haywood, "The One True God," in *Meat in Due Season*, December 1915, vol. 1, no. 9, 2, 3, and *The Present Truth*, vol. 1, 1916, 3; "The Great Controversy," *Meat in Due Season*, June 1915, vol. 1, no. 6, 1.

⁸² *The Voice in the Wilderness*, "Special Second Edition," c. 1921; This edition contains a large portion of the articles which must have appeared in the earlier editions.

Christ is BOTH the Father and the Son.⁸³

Jacobsen recognizes the modalistic implications of Oneness theology which, as in Haywood's example here, radically excluded the Trinitarian belief in other Persons which remained transcendentally above the created order as the Son became incarnate. Sabellius, as far as Haywood was concerned, was "more scripturally based" than Trinitarianism because of his rejection of the idea of Persons and use of the term "manifestation."⁸⁴ For Haywood the acceptance of three Persons was basically tritheism and a complexity which needlessly violated the simplicity of the Old Testament Shema.

Instead, Jesus was the one person of God in human form, although Jacobsen suggests that Haywood, like other Oneness proponents, leaves undefined precisely what the relationship is "between the human and the divine."⁸⁵ He sees the Christology, therefore, as weak, calling it "more evocative than definitive." Nevertheless, he concludes that "Haywood's God was Jesus."⁸⁶ Reed's treatment of the movement, *In Jesus' Name*, quotes Haywood more than any other Oneness representative, except for that of Ewart, which demonstrates again the import of his thought in the early movement.

The most important related theological sphere to these aspects of the Deity of Christ for Oneness doctrine was that of salvation and the interrelatedness of water and Spirit to the new birth. Haywood was a leader in the insistence upon baptism in Jesus' Name. First of all, the Old Testament emphasis was predominant in representative

⁸³ G. T. Haywood, "Jesus Is Both," *The Voice in the Wilderness*, September 1916, no. 18, 1; emphasis in bold original.

⁸⁴ Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 211; G. T. Haywood, "The Review of Some Articles," *The Voice in the Wilderness*, no. 18, October 1916, 4.

⁸⁵ See, Haywood, "The One True God," 2; "The Dangers of Denying the Father," *Christian Outlook*, April 1932, 3; *Divine Names and Titles of Jehovah* (Indianapolis: The Voice in the Wilderness, n. d.), 12, 15; *The Victim of the Flaming Sword* (Indianapolis: The Voice in the Wilderness, n. d.), 12, 44, 55; *Finest of the Wheat*, 35; see, Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 212. The above citations are also excellent examples of Haywood's belief in the dual nature of Christ.

⁸⁶ Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 211, 215.

typology pointing to a three-fold plan of salvation mirroring the Tabernacle of Moses.⁸⁷

Repentance, water baptism, and the infilling of the Spirit were typologically viewed in the Tabernacle furniture. And individuals must avoid, as Israel before them, the sin of rejection and disobedience and follow the Apostolic pattern, just as Israel had been required to follow the Mosaic pattern.⁸⁸

This long trajectory of salvation history culminated in Pentecost such that the new birth experience of salvation was viewed as identical to Spirit baptism. Water baptism, too, was essential, though not magical: “The life of the Blood of Christ is connected with baptism when it is administered in His name,” he wrote. “It is not by water only, but by water and blood, and the blood is in His name.”⁸⁹ Yet he also acknowledged a distinction between conception and birth which explained for him the position of those who have Christian faith short of the Apostolic pattern.⁹⁰ Therefore, he viewed this relationship as that of gestation which should naturally lead to birth.

An area of theological reflection which fits Jacobsen’s category of Haywood ruminations which were more “speculative” than most Pentecostal writers is that of the nature of creation.⁹¹ The breadth of topical interests and theological inquiry which Haywood displayed impressed and intrigued many of his contemporaries, and none more than his creation study *Before the Foundation of the World*. The field of scientific speculation did not scare him off as it often did other early Pentecostals, and as a result he developed a creation theology to battle the theory of evolution which demanded a high

⁸⁷ Multiple theological topics were covered in *The Teachings of the Apostolic Church According to the Bible, Ezekiel’s Vision, and The Old and New Tabernacle Compared*, in *God’s Word: Exhorted, Revealed, Prophecied*, Harry W. Goodloe, Sr., ed. (Indianapolis: Christ Temple Printing Ministries Publication, n. d.), treating Oneness and new birth theology through the lens of Old Testament and prophetic themes; see, *The Old and New Tabernacle Compared* (Indianapolis: The Voice in the Wilderness, n. d.), 5.

⁸⁸ G. T. Haywood, “Water Baptism,” *The Messenger*, no. 2 (1915), 2.

⁸⁹ Haywood, *Birth of the Spirit*, 2-3, 38; 23-24, 29.

⁹⁰ Haywood, *Birth of the Spirit*, in Dugas, Haywood, 17-20.

⁹¹ Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 197.

degree of induction expansion. He subtitled the study *A Revelation of the Ages*, popularizing these ideas quite widely with illustrative drawings of dinosaurs from Haywood's own hand. One ad for the book was captioned: "The greatest Secrets of Modern Times are Revealed in this booklet."⁹²

Amos Yong has included a chapter on Haywood's speculative processes and this view of creation in his book *The Spirit Renews the Earth: Pentecostal Forays in Science and Theology of Creation*.⁹³ The chapter on Haywood is authored by Oneness scholar David Norris. Essentially, Haywood's hermeneutic of creation echoed the 7,000 years of creation symbolism of Nathaniel West's book *The Thousand Years* and Clarence Larkin's *Dispensational Truth*.⁹⁴ Adventuring into spheres of theological speculation Haywood sought explanations of the fossil record outside an evolutionary model and in the process affected the trajectory of thought of a considerable number of Oneness adherents.

7.7 Microcosm of a Movement – The Indianapolis Legacy

Haywood's Indianapolis impact, as pointed out by Bundy in his "Religion for Urban Realities," challenges traditional theories of socio-economic "urban-rural" explanations regarding Pentecostalism's emergence, in that it clearly "celebrated and depended on the structures of urban life" in its Haywood-led Indianapolis form.⁹⁵ Predominately Oneness, and always an important center of the movement, and, at times, its epicenter, it was interracially oriented from its inception. Regardless of regional dilemmas, Indianapolis Oneness Pentecostalism was not splintered in Haywood's

⁹² See, Haywood ad, *Christian Outlook*, April 1923, 16.

⁹³ Amos Yong, ed., *The Spirit Renews the Face of the Earth: Pentecostal Forays in Science and Theology of Creation*, Chapter 5, "Creation Revealed," David Norris (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2009).

⁹⁴ Nathaniel West, *The Thousand Years: Studies in Eschatology in Both Testaments* (1889; reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1993), 339, 343-344; Clarence Larkin, *Dispensational Truth* (Philadelphia: Rev. Clarence Larkin Est., 1920).

⁹⁵ Bundy, "Haywood," in *Portraits*, 237, 253, or an urban dependency on "modernity."

lifetime, and the life of the movement ebbed in collaborative consistency with Christ Temple.

There are no instances in which rural situations or values were cited as authoritative or glorified. Instead there was a continual reporting on the work of the Holy Spirit in cities around the world. That ‘work’ was understood to provide the means by which the limitations imposed upon normal human agency could be transcended by powers and abilities bestowed as gracious gifts of God.... The participants about whom we can know economic details were reasonably well off and secure. Racial diversity was celebrated and relativized. Linguistic and cultural diversity were applauded and understood as positive tools for the mission.⁹⁶

“By the grace of God,” wrote Oak Hill Tabernacle pastor T. C. Davis in 1939, “this city has become a great Pentecostal center.”⁹⁷ Although, by the summer of 1930, America’s heartland was being ravaged by severe drought, the PAW was showing healthy signs of revived vigor. The 1930 PAW roster indicates that 46 of the ministers were from Indianapolis, 21 of which were women, G. B. Rowe (Mishawaka) and Lewis (Cleveland, OH) remained as White Bishops, there were 14 White District Elders, the sole District Elder from Indiana was H. L. Alvey. Several of the White ministers throughout the city remained with the PAW, such as Arthur E. Boring, later of Greensburg.⁹⁸ Indeed, many area ministers, such as Charles V. Taylor (Shelbyville), received their understanding of Oneness theology directly from Haywood.

Indianapolis benefited the most from Haywood’s legacy and vision, especially from the numerous early Oneness missions which were established, such as one which reported in late 1918 that Glenn A. Cook was in charge, “Central Pentecostal Mission” on

⁹⁶ Bundy, “Haywood,” in *Portraits*, 253.

⁹⁷ T. C. Davis, “Let’s Get Acquainted,” *The Pentecostal Outlook*, December 1939, quoted in *Historical News*, vol. 10, no. 2, January-March, 1991, 2.

⁹⁸ *1930 PAW Minute Book*; “Drought Duration and Extent,” National Drought Mitigation Center, www.drought.unl.edu/whatis/dustbowl.htm (accessed January 24, 2010).

Fort Wayne Avenue.⁹⁹ Many later developed into established congregations, such as two flagship PAW churches historically linked to Christ Temple, Morris E. Golder's "Grace Apostolic Church," and James E. Tyson's "Christ Church Apostolic."

"Oak Hill Tabernacle," for example, though apparently not survived to the present, became an early notable work, possibly dating to land purchased in 1911. Roberts came from Newark, Ohio in 1913, built in the church in 1914, and became a premiere spokesman of the movement after his 1915 rebaptism. When he defected, Roberts sold the Oak Hill property, in 1922, to nearby mission pastor T. C. Davis, who "took the work," and became, himself, a prominent Oneness leader.¹⁰⁰

Lena O. Spillman (1879-1953), at 35, was Spirit filled at Oak Hill October 1914, and, therefore, possibly among the baptismal candidates at the first Jesus' Name baptism east of the Mississippi, March 6, 1915. She served with Roberts and Davis until 1929, when she organized "Christian Tabernacle," two miles northeast of Oak Hill, another of the city's influential Oneness congregations, possibly eventually assimilated at least a portion of the Oak Hill group.¹⁰¹

In late 1916, Joseph Rodgers, of the West Ohio Street "Apostolic Faith Helping Hands Mission," begun possibly as early as 1912, reported that Lawson had preached his first "convocation." In 1918 Haywood reported Rodgers' death due to a scaffolding

⁹⁹ "The Fire Is Still Falling," *The Voice in the Wilderness*, no. 24, October 1918, 4.

¹⁰⁰ T. C. Davis, "Revival at Oak Hill Tabernacle," *Apostolic Herald*, January 1927, in *Historical News*, Spring 2002, 4; Davis, "Let's Get Acquainted," 2; cf., also, Richard Cordell, *Indianapolis Star*, August 23, 1911, 1, sale of Oak Hill property from James D. Given.

¹⁰¹ James D. and Lena Spillman, 1920 *U.S. Census*, Indianapolis, 9A; 1930 *U.S. Census*, Indianapolis, 7B; "Tribute to a Pioneer—Lena Spillman," *Kentucky Pentecostal Heritage*, vol. 2, 19-22, 120. Paul Jordan, the succeeding pastor, began preaching in 1929, see, Isabel Boyer, "Pastor, Mate on Duty for Duration," *The Indianapolis Star*, April 3, 1982, 2.

accident.¹⁰² PAW minister James L. Jackson became pastor, and the church endured, now the “West Side Pentecostal Church” (UPCI).¹⁰³

Born and reared in southern Indiana, Alvey became a PAW evangelist by 1920, founding the successful “First Friendship Apostolic Church” in the mid-1920’s in the Fountain Square area, apparently with White families originally with Christ Temple. He was a PAW District Elder by 1930. Herbert and Ida Alvey were close with G. T. and Ida Haywood, and his personal, signed copy of Hall’s *Remarkable Biblical Discovery or “The Name” of God According to the Scriptures*, 1929 second edition, was gifted to Alvey after Haywood’s passing.¹⁰⁴

The mission founded by Greek immigrant Alexander B. Anderson (1895-1963) originated out of T. C. Davis’ ministry. Although it was an English speaking work Anderson also did Greek evangelism. He had been born in Mavrea, Greece as Alexis Angelopoulos, immigrated to the U.S. in 1911 as a 19-year-old shoe cobbler, at which time his name was changed to Anderson, and married Kentucky-born Ada Reno in 1913.¹⁰⁵ Ada Reno had received Spirit baptism in 1917 under the ministry of L. V. Roberts, although Anderson did not embrace Pentecostalism until 1925. His mission, the First Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, served as a hub for a number of early independent congregations in the Midwest.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Joseph Rodgers, “Bro. Jos. Rodger’s Mission, Indianapolis,” *The Voice in the Wilderness*, no. 19, November 1916, 2, and, of his death, “Bro. Joe Rodgers,” no. 24, September, 1918, 2. After moving to Eureka Springs, Arkansas, Rodgers’ widow married S. C. McClain in 1919.

¹⁰³ Matthew Ball, “West Side Story: The Heritage of an Indianapolis Congregation,” *Indiana Apostolic Trumpet*, April 2009, 10; *1919-1920 PAW Minute Book*.

¹⁰⁴ *1900 U.S. Census*, Perry County, Anderson Township, 3B; *1910 U.S. Census*, Troy, Indiana, 12B; born Dec. 6, 1889, Troy, Indiana, Herbert Lewis Alvey, *1918 World War I Registration*, 265; *1930 PAW Minute Book*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Cf., www.ancestry.com, “Alexis Angelopoulos” (accessed November 2, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ *1920 U.S. Census*, Indianapolis, 5A; *1930 U.S. Census*, Indianapolis, 8A; Helen A. Cole, *You Too Can Make It* (Russellville, AR: World’s Unlimited for Christ,

Several families originally connected with Haywood and Alvey, including the family of Herman G. Basore, who received Spirit baptism at Haywood's in 1913, joined with Oscar C. Hughes (1886-1964) in 1932 to establish what was to become "Calvary Tabernacle." He had come to Indianapolis from Bloomington, where he returned in 1935.¹⁰⁷ Led by Nathaniel A. Urshan for thirty years (1949-1979), UPCI General Superintendent from 1977-2002, and now by Assistant General Superintendent, Paul Mooney, Calvary Tabernacle remains the largest Oneness congregation in Indianapolis, and one of the largest churches in the United Pentecostal Church International.

Some of these earliest Oneness missions were, reportedly, quite aggressive. Thomas Zimmerman, Assemblies of God General Superintendent from 1959-1985, was originally from the Trinitarian independent mission known as the Apostolic Church in Indianapolis where his father-in-law John Price was pastor. The Apostolic Church claimed that members from the early Oneness churches "sometimes disrupted altar services to attempt to persuade new converts to join their ranks and be baptized in Jesus' name."¹⁰⁸ The Indianapolis movement, obviously, has, indeed, 'hit the altar,' with perhaps the highest per capita concentration of Oneness Pentecostals of any city in the United States.

David Bundy's 1996 study of Indianapolis Pentecostalism in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* is an excellent starting point for comparative analyses, citing 48,000 Indianapolis Pentecostals, 12,500 in the PAW, 4,000 in the UPCI, and 127 unaffiliated

1994), 21-23; A. B. Anderson, "I Am the Way and the Truth" [translation], Greek Tract, n. d.; A. B. Anderson, "The Voice of the Gospel" [translation], Greek Tract, n. d.

¹⁰⁷ Interview, Robert W. Basore, February 6, 2009; *1930 U.S. Census*, Smithville, Monroe County, Indiana, 10B; "Oscar Coyle Hughes," www.ancestry.com.

¹⁰⁸ Edith L. Blumhofer, "Thomas F. Zimmerman: A Look at the Indiana Roots," *Assemblies of God Heritage*, vol. 10, no. 4, Winter, 1990-1991, 5, now "Parc-Way AG," founded before 1917 as "Apostolic Church" by Daniel Rickert.

Pentecostal independent churches.¹⁰⁹ Rudolph's work, *Hoosier Faiths: A History of Indiana Churches and Religious Groups*, although briefly referencing the PAW and Oneness Pentecostalism, interestingly, did not include Oneness churches in its Marion County "Table 2: Indiana Church 1990."¹¹⁰

A collated list of Indianapolis-Marion County churches, inclusive of only the contiguous Marion County suburbs, attests to approximately 130 Oneness churches, including the PAW (30), UPCI (18), COOLJC (5), PCAF (5), and the ALJC (3).¹¹¹ Aenon Bible College (PAW), Indiana Bible College (UPCI), and the headquarters for the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World are also located in Indianapolis. A Pentecost Sunday "reconciliation service" held in Indianapolis for Oneness Pentecostal churches in 1996 and was able to draw over 6,000 attendees from 60 area churches.¹¹²

Nevertheless, even considering the small number of churches from each of the other Oneness groups represented in the 130 Oneness churches, including the Hispanic AAFCJ and LWC, nearly half of the total churches are of unknown affiliation and, likely, independent. And a conservative constituency total for these Marion County churches is approximately 35,000 Oneness Pentecostals.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ David Bundy, "Pentecostal Churches," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows, eds. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 1085-1088; These independent churches were 60% Black, 30% White.

¹¹⁰ "Table 2: Indiana Churches 1990," in L. C. Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths: A History of Indiana Churches and Religious Groups* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1995), 692, 370, 439-444.

¹¹¹ *National Directory of Churches, Synagogues, and Other Houses of Worship*, vol. 2, J. Gordon Melton and John Krol, eds. (Washington, DC: Gale Research, Inc., 1994), 160-161; *Indianapolis Yellowpages*, 2008; "Indianapolis Churches," www.ebiblestories.com/church/in_indianapolis_church.shtml (accessed September 12, 2008).

¹¹² Judith Cebula, "Celebration Will Attempt to Recapture Racial Harmony," *The Indianapolis Star*, May 25, 1996, A17.

¹¹³ "Census 2000: Indiana," in *USA Today*, www.census.usatoday.com (accessed July 8, 2007); The Indianapolis city population in 2000 was 797,159, with the total Marion county population being 860,454; The bulk of Marion County's population is in Indianapolis.

7.8 Conclusion

Although almost ninety years of racial division has impacted the development of the Oneness movement, in spite of some evidencing of limited interracial sentiment, a meaningful analysis of the failed interracial vision and the writing of new interracial chapter remain palpably unfulfilled endeavors. The ramifications of the early racial reversals not only altered the PAW forever, but galvanized the developing White segments of the movement into decades of segregated, diffuse factions. For a period of years after the rift 20-30% of the PAW ministers were White, but evidently a significant portion were also members, at the same time, of new White organizational bodies. The interracial vision had dissipated and an era abruptly brought to a close.

Until the 1940's even the White segment of Oneness Pentecostalism was characteristically diffuse in spite of noble efforts to the contrary and only able to reunite and amalgamate slowly over a period of more than a decade. Successful mergers often resulted in new divisions and new splinter groups. It was, in fact, just such a critical schism which ended up preserving the PAW after its attempt to re-merge with Whites who had previously splintered the organization. Re-establishing the PAW saved the organization from complete dissipation when, once again, the PAJC became a complete interracial failure by the mid-1930's.

For varied reasons a considerable segment of the Black Oneness churches as well as large segments of the White movement had never joined the PAW and the final outcome of the PAW schism was increased division throughout Oneness Pentecostalism. Its failure was a failure for the movement as a whole. And Black Oneness factions rarely, if ever, moved toward the merger and organizational unity model which to some degree emerged slowly within segments of White Oneness factions. The diverse segments of the movement, except where the option of amalgamation was realized, were left to function

independently of one another, for the most part, in the rather unsympathetic theological terrain of Evangelicalism's harsh reality. Yet within this context the movement both adapted and flourished globally.

By the time of Haywood's passing the organizational landscape was equally divided into Black, Hispanic, White, and autochthonous Oneness Pentecostalism. And in its Asian expressions the movement was clearly experiencing its most expansive growth and nuanced indigenization. Most observers at the time were somewhat startled and perplexed by these developments – with a movement which had grown in little more than a decade and half to 260,000 and at least thirty five separate organizational groups by the first half of the 1930's. In the face of increased racial schism, separatism, and independency, an accompanying intensified missionary zeal and indigenization had also occurred. Within a span of a dozen years a robust Oneness Pentecostalism with not less than 160 missionaries could be found in not less than thirty two countries around the world.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ By 1930, then, 26% of the Oneness constituencies were in the U.S., with 74% in more than 31 other countries (37% within missionary-led segments and 37% autochthonous segments).

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

8.1 The Finest of the Wheat – Early Oneness Pentecostal Perspective

When G. T. Haywood wrote *The Finest of the Wheat* to defend Oneness theological positions his work resonated with the familiar vernacular of an original Oneness mindset steeped in Old Testament imagery.

Our souls are being ‘fed with the finest of the wheat.’ Daily there cometh down from heaven to us ‘our daily bread.’ The beauties of the revelation of ‘the Father and Son’ in Christ; the New Birth of water and Spirit and many others heretofore hidden mysteries of God, truly have become ‘hidden manna’ to our hearts.

But that is not all. He has also promised us ‘honey out of the rock.’ All these promises are ours. The test of our loyalty to Christ has come. The trials are hard and many, yet there is a sweetness in it all.¹

Manna, bread, and wheat represented powerful corollary truths for them, just as the honey in the rock foreshadowed the test of truth which they all faced. For early Pentecostals the hermeneutic of direct application of figurative discourse to daily life and doctrine saw in Psalm 81:16 the fulfillment of “the finest of the wheat” in the last day harvest of truth, which for them was the Jesus’ Name message itself.

“O Sweet Wonder,” Haywood’s 1915 quintessential Oneness hymn, similarly made use of one of the metaphors in inspirational verse by uniting the element of the promise of sweet honey with the theological uplifting of Jesus’ Name and Deity.² And

¹ G. T. Haywood, “The Finest of the Wheat,” *The Voice in the Wilderness*, Special Second Edition, 1921, 1; cf., Haywood, *The Finest of the Wheat*, in *God’s Word*, Goodloe, ed., 38-93.

² Although actually entitled “Jesus the Son of God” it’s known more commonly by the song’s refrain, “O Sweet Wonder.” It has remains as one of the movement’s most enduring anthems. See, G. T. Haywood, “Jesus the Son of God,” copyright 1915, *Bridegroom Songs* (Indianapolis: The Voice in the Wilderness, 1926), 5.

the archetypal sweet wonder refrain in turn served to hearten Oneness proponents throughout the movement who readily interpreted symbolic significance into the context of their own ideological and interracial ardor.

They did not, of course, sing of their corresponding failures which resulted in the inaugural years of the movement, and admixture of interracial accomplishment, tension, disappointment, and failure. Few foresaw the far-reaching ramifications of the eventual racial divide within Oneness Pentecostalism, including the considerable degree of temporary destabilization and organizational diffusion which ensued.

Yet Haywood's influence had proven sufficiently effective, even immediately after his April 1931 passing, as to energize a second interracial attempt between the Whites who had previously walked out of the PAW and the Black majority PAW ministers. Although its déjà-vu like failure was not surprising by any means, it can be seen as the evidence of the fading interracial vision in its finale upon the stage of early Pentecostalism.

The 'opening act' of interracial cooperative union, though, had been nowhere better expressed liturgically than in Haywood's sweet wonder hymn terminology and succinct lyrical expression: "How I adore Thee! O how I love Thee!" The Jesus-centrism is dominant and unmistakable. Booth-Clibborn's classic composition, "Down From His Glory," was likewise reflective of the definitional parameters of the emerging Oneness movement devotionally focused upon issues of the centrality of Christ, the "God-Man" motif, and Christ as the totality or fullness of God.³

³ William Booth-Clibborn, "Down From His Glory," copyright 1921, *Victory Songs No. 4 (Booth-Clibborn)* (Chicago: Tabernacle Publishing Company, n. d.), 97, with the lines: "My God and Savior came, and Jesus was His name.... O, how I love Him! How I adore Him!" Cf., also, Mrs. S. K. (Catherine) Grimes, "The Great I Am," copyright 1924, *Bridegroom Songs* (Indianapolis: The Voice in the Wilderness, 1926), 84, from the chorus, "... the great eternal Wonder."

Oneness Pentecostalism was quick to coalesce theologically, as attested to by a long list of defectors, and, by 1919, it had established itself as an atypical, interracial, non-Trinitarian segment of the Pentecostal movement. Observers could clearly delineate the distinct difference between the one God manifest in the flesh in Oneness thought from an incarnate divine Person among Persons in the Trinity. The immediate early insistence upon both Jesus' Name baptism and Spirit baptism was predicated, not merely on apostolic precedent, but upon these theological tenets as interpreted from the Oneness perspective.

The intent of this thesis has been to solve as many of the riddles regarding the inaugural years of the early Oneness movement or at least remove as much of the dust of obscurity as possible, but, at the same time, to grapple with the historical reality of race unity and race division within the movement and its long-range ramifications. Although tumultuous the inaugural years 1914 to 1930 were in many respects rather remarkable in terms of the movement's expansion.

In this short fifteen year span the movement's global presence was already well established, from the U.S. and Canada to its varied autochthonous forms in several regions of the world to a rapidly expanding missionary base. For the period of its first dozen years the movement was centralized around the interracial Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, at least until the 1924 racial turmoil which resulted in its splintering into the later diffuse segments which characterized Oneness Pentecostalism over the following two decades.

It will not do to treat the early interracial era as though it were merely a momentary, empty historical pretense of negligible import and thus largely ignore the details which were indeed significance laden. It would be historical amnesia to fail to take into account the originating years of the PAW as a derivative of the Azusa Street

revival and thus a thorough going interracial body from the start. With the PAW's assimilation into the Oneness movement, complete by 1918, a race relationship resulted which included both leadership structure and worship. For decades after its failure the Black majority PAW still remained committed to the interracial ideal.

All of this, therefore, is representative of the early Oneness movement's extent of investment to the interracial paradigm for almost two decades or more. It highlights its recognition of, and commitment to, the centrality of its own Black roots and influences as well as the theological components which undergirded such an important race mindset in an utterly resistant societal framework.

8.2 The Restoration Context of Early Oneness Pentecostalism

Another critical aspect of early Pentecostal perspective which more thoroughly influenced Oneness Pentecostalism than almost any other segment of the movement is that of the restoration impulse. Its thorough-going restorationism was, in fact, central to the ideological framework in which its oppositional theology developed. And an even more pointed fact is that its initial interracial vision was intricately and thoroughly linked with its original restorationist impulse, the same impulse which had stirred and motivated its early theological passion. The influence and importance of its Black roots and of the Black experience within the movement's development is anticipatory of the interracial emphasis which dominated early on.

The PAW as the representative entity of the Oneness movement emphasized racial unity for more than twenty years, long before the emergence of a theologically distinct Jesus' Name Pentecostalism. With the interracial PAJC finale from 1931-1937 the movement's years of evidentiary interracial impulse stretch from its 1906 founding to about 1937, or more than thirty years. As an interracial dream it was an inspired hope, imperfectly executed and flawed, which most had not even 'thought through' as to how

they could make it work. The impulse was rooted in belief in a divine imperative, nurtured as an inner desire to fulfill an Azusa Street ideal of Pentecost in a world of prejudice.

Clearly, from this perspective the movement's roots so not originate from the first occurrences of tongues speaking, but rather from international, interracial component which characterized the Azusa Street revival and launched the tongues movement into its global trajectory. Its scope, therefore, is an all-people hope, deliverance, and power.

No more our brave and gallant youths,
Shall tremble of tomorrow;
Behold, sweet liberty and truth,
Has broke the chains of sorrow.⁴

So wrote the famed African American poet Aaron Belford Thompson, friend of G. T. Haywood, in Indianapolis in his 1907 *Harvest of Thought*. Such is the context of Oneness zeal, as well, with its emphasis of sweet liberty as divine deliverance and the ideal of truth. Lawson saw it best, as the response of “living the real love of God,” a reality to which early adherents actually aspired as proof to the world of the genuine success of Pentecost and of the spiritual restoration believed to be taking place in the Oneness movement.

What Azusa Street had not accomplished after Parham's racial rejection of the validity of Seymour's revival in the south, Oneness Pentecostalism accomplished to a great extent, largely due to Haywood being a leading visionary and unifier. More than anyone else, Haywood broke down the southern resistance to integration and the early Parham influence. Therefore, the movement was reoriented away from the segregationist mentality which prevailed in the AG toward a version of the Azusa Street vision which dared to hope against hope for a real example of unity in a genuinely restored Pentecostalism.

⁴ Thompson, “Emancipation,” stanza 5, in *Harvest of Thoughts*, 46.

In many ways this early interracial amalgamated ethos, which in varying degrees both within and without the PAW has persisted to the present, with varying cultural and regional complexities explains to some extent the nuanced African American influences within the demonstrative worship characteristically found across the spectrum of Oneness Pentecostal churches today. Its origins are based in the Azusa Street influences with its international and interracial emphasis, which resulted in a strong reaction within Oneness Pentecostalism to pick up the torch and continue this self-identifying element within the movement once it became repressed and rejected in the broader movement.

8.3 The Obscurity, Transition, and Battle for the PAW

When Cook suggested of Indianapolis at the beginning of the Midwest Azusa in 1907 “this will be a center of power,” little did anyone realize at that early juncture just how accurate he had been. It’s emergence as a Oneness epicenter was corresponding with the Frazee era of the PAW, an era which only now has begun to rise from virtual obscurity, just as the transitional tidal waves of the Oneness issue inundated that ministerial fellowship as it did the AG. A pivotal clarification of this thesis has been the correlation of the historical detail regarding the Oneness gains in Portland, Oregon, the early and transitional Frazee era, and the composition and leadership of the transitional PAW.

It’s now abundantly clear that the battle for the Assemblies of God in the period 1916-1918 was accompanied by what was in the long run a far more momentous battle for the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. The discovery of a *1917 PAW Minute Book and Ministerial Roster* enhanced enormously previous conceptions of this crucial era in the PAW’s transition from a Trinitarian body to far and away the predominant association of Oneness ministers and churches. The statistical information derived from this new source alters numerous previously conceived assumptions about this early period.

One of the first insights afforded from these statistical analyses involves the fact that in almost every way the battle for the PAW was counter-distinct to the Oneness issues raging in the AG. The reasons which emerge include the PAW's ministerial diversity both theologically and racially, its interracial priorities, and its western dominance which set it apart from the AG's southern dominated ministry. This thesis has attempted to rectify as much as possible the lack of attention given to this aspect of the story of the emergence of the movement. Even prior to the surfacing of the Oneness issue a definite leadership scuffle had developed between the PAW and the AG, with Ewart, Haywood, and Frazee in the west and Midwest vying for the more inclusive hegemony of the race-conscious PAW and with the AG faction of Bell and Flower in the south content with exclusive polity. The red hot embers of the erupting Oneness conflict simply carried these already volatile differences to an entirely unforeseen new level.

To some extent the racial issue co-opted the Oneness issue within the debate in the AG so as to become an opportune excuse in camouflage for the abandonment of Finished Work African American ministers. As the conflict was enlarged the unabashed racial disregard became more and more vivid and publicly engraved upon the collective consciousness of Oneness participants, Black and White, shaping their blossoming interracial resolve within the transitioning PAW. Nevertheless, when Oneness theological and racial hopes were dashed in the AG, the move was on for the fulfillment of a new Oneness Pentecostal future rooted in aspirations of meaningful unity. The detection of an unmistakable Trinitarian majority at this time in the PAW, sympathetic enough to Oneness aspirations to bow out and relinquish control, was made to order for uniting these forces. All that remained was for the White ministers who had previously placed their hopes in the AG to shift the battle to the PAW and become adequately prepared to go the distance in securing a meaningful interracial structure.

With the 1917 Black composition of the PAW quite small, the primary concern of incoming Whites had had nothing to do with perceptions regarding its racial complexity, but rather with the avoiding a repeat AG-type battle with an organization dominated by Trinitarians. They appear to have been eager to take hold of their own destinies as a movement, and, besides, most of them had scarce knowledge of the west coast circumstances surrounding the affairs of the PAW. On the other hand the Oneness PAW minority faction, against all odds, became convinced that they would win the day in the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. And they were, indeed, right.

By all appearances the usual strategy of wrangling and disputation was notably absent from these events, although the majority of the original PAW ministers withdrew in 1918, replaced by an even larger number of basically unaffiliated Oneness ministers.⁵ Amidst the characteristic fluidity of the period, there is no evidence, either, that this Trinitarian majority made any move to join the organizational structures already in existence, but likely followed the common path of independency, eschewing organizational position and security. With the loss of Oneness momentum within the broader movement, more and more the resolve of such Trinitarians who may have been on the fence or sympathetic in varying degrees to Oneness objectives was solidified to veer away from the uncertainties of a now aging “new issue.”

8.4 Racism and the Pentecostal Loss of Interracial Vision

Oneness Pentecostalism received the nudge from its Trinitarian counterparts to recognize its potential as a viable movement in its own right. The interracial vision was as good a starting point as any and became the inaugural distinguishing theme of its determination to overcome racial division within the church. But its efforts were bolstered by insights gleaned from the pros and cons of past mistakes, inspiration

⁵ The 1917 PAW, interestingly, was almost as large as the 1917 AG.

imparted by the courageous efforts of past participants, and the hope derived from past achievements in spite of the odds. Encouragement derived as well from the groundswell of Oneness support for the PAW effort from more than 460 ministers who had until this time remained outside the organizational fray.

This was above and beyond the PAW/GAAA combined total of about 250 ministers, now the minority, which comprised the more than 700 ministers of the PAW by 1919. Further augmenting their racial commitment was its Indianapolis interracial center which offset southern tendencies toward racial unrest, just at the time that the organization could boast its largest contingency of Oneness ministers representing the regional diversity of the entire United States. The first order of business, therefore, was the institution of a fully integrated leadership *in addition to* the ideal of interracial worship in the life of the church.

On the other hand, unfortunately, it had proceeded without much in the way of an articulated blueprint for just *how* to proceed. They might as well, then, have been holding their breath in the uncertainty of the historic moment, for assuredly little advance, outside assistance could be had in a culture steeped in racist assumptions. Voices of support and encouragement in the era were non-existent, while ample resistance and opposition could be cited for not making it work. In fact, the most ready and consistent excuse for failure has remained the quick referral to their lack of personal responsibility due to the fact that they were simply the products of their times and culture. Thus it was better to have tried and failed, so it goes, than to never have tried at all.

To what extent the tide of defectors may or may not have also been similarly infected by racial motivations is not known. Their initial abandonment of the cause demonstrated to many that neither the movement, nor its ambitious vision, could

ultimately succeed. From Haywood's perspective, the loss of Lawson from the PAW interracial effort at this crucial moment was especially detrimental.

But succeed they did, for a time, both in initiating the dream and expanding their base evangelistically. Oneness views, of course, were not viewed as adequately orthodox which precipitated their separatist expansion in isolation, although that too was at least partially self-imposed. Therefore, their praises were not sung, their story was not told, and their exuberance neither felt nor emulated, especially within a Pentecostalism which had both predicted a Oneness demise and continued to nurse the guilt of its own racial failure. Instead, developing Oneness Pentecostalism was more or less ignored by the broader movement.

The integrated organizational leadership of the PAW initially thrived for several years while the African American PAW ministerial roster literally quadrupled, resulting in their dominance not only of the eastern region, but of portions of the Midwest and northern region, as well as many of the urban centers. Several dynamics were brought into play as these efforts materialized, including the effect of west coast losses from the PAW after the merger, and the South's inability to coalesce around a major center of leadership with the shift of balance away from Arkansas and the roles of Goss and Opperman.

The movement remained, though, without a distinctly articulated Christian response to racism around which to unify, and they found themselves inadequately prepared to overcome the culturally normative abnormalities regarding race which surrounded them on a daily basis. As the growth in the south, led by Texas, began to explode, the challenges were mounting, without adequate response efforts to stem the negative appeals regarding the difficulties of racial societal dilemmas. Clearly, the E. W. Doak leadership during this era could not match these challenges, nor was it centralized

enough, to offset the growing resistance to integration from increasingly prominent southern leaders who were maneuvering such stormy challenges for the first time, many of which simply did not have the necessary conviction to weather them.

By 1924 the interracial union unraveled amidst a renewal of latent race prejudice and naiveté which not only separated the majority of the White ministers from the PAW, but literally splintered the White movement into multiple factions. It would require decades of effort, well into the 1930's and 1940's, to reunite even a minority of these elements of the fractured movement. The redrawing of the color line within Oneness Pentecostalism essentially guaranteed its initial splintering and diffusion of the movement, rather than its unity—its persistently characteristic feature to the present. And it inflicted upon itself generations of self-imposed intra-movement isolation, further ostracizing what was already a widely ostracized form of Pentecostalism.

8.5 But, O Lord, How Long?

“If ever there was a place” is, fittingly, Haywood’s own expression for motivating and probing the movement toward decisive action and character regarding the racial crisis which devastated early Oneness Pentecostals more than eighty years past.⁶ Haywood meant, of course, that genuine Pentecostalism held the key necessary to right the wrongs and forge a true equity in the expectant now. He was, in fact, acknowledging for the movement at-large the ever present worth of racial reconciliation and renewed unifying vigor.

When shall the day dawn when right de-thrones wrong?
My Jesus, I’m waiting, but, O Lord, how long?⁷

Haywood’s question rhetorically addresses such issues as the necessary de-throning of agendas which may be illegitimately deemed more important than reconciled

⁶ Golder, *Haywood*, 63.

⁷ Haywood, “O Lord, How Long?” *Bridegroom Songs*, 15.

brotherhood and sisterhood, but through the grid of a prophetic better day. Haywood's understandable impatience evidenced here in the "how long?" anticipation of eschatological solutions speaks as well of possibilities actualized by intervening positive action. Although he addresses the Lord it is obvious that wrong can be righted and de-throned apart from the eschaton, for example, as visionaries take it upon themselves to be participants in the process.

Both history and the participants in that historical past have the potential of speaking into the present via an enlightenment of the present circumstance with the unfolding of insight from the lessons within the events in their proper context. For example, Haywood's query, "but, O Lord, how long," begs the question as to the renewal of an interracial vision of consequence within Oneness Pentecostalism which has maintained its pervasive racial division. Surely human motivations and longings do not change so considerably as to render their own early historic voices valueless. Regardless of intent of application within a given setting, much is to be derived from the comprehension of any era truly committed to racial justice and harmony.

First and foremost, the voices of the Oneness era of interracial unity have spoken forcefully of meaningful reconciliation which pushes past merely limited localized rhetoric to the recognition of the core issues of repentance for, and denunciation of, racism, and a prioritizing of a righteous and holy race response to the sin of prejudice in culture.⁸ Again, though, in terms of intra-movement applicability, unless these take the form of sincere denominational gestures, which ultimately comprise their priority vision, fundamental articles of faith, and Lawson's "living the real love of God," they will likely

⁸ Cf., also, Russell W. West, "A Critical Exploration of the PCCNA's Rhetorical Vision for Racial Unity: Fighting Pentecostal Racism with Saul's Armor or David's Sling?" Regent University School of Theology, September 1999, 2-6.

be of little consequence. Yet race equity of consequence and the legitimacy of hopefulness are ageless Christian priorities.

Haywood reached across the racial divide of his day and earned the respect of both blacks and Whites. Thirty years after his death, when the nation was engulfed in racial turmoil and violence, Indianapolis was spared much of that, and civic leaders attributed this to the legacy of Haywood. If that legacy were repeated on a wide scale, the new century could be the Church's finest hour.⁹

"Some Day," an energetic Haywood favorite, expressed the confidence of most Pentecostal participants of the earliest era that all solutions would materialize at the linear end of the age regardless of the apparent momentary circumstances:

There'll be no curse, no sin, nor sighing,
Some day, some day, some happy day.
Nor shall be heard the voice of crying,
Some day, some day, some happy day.¹⁰

Yet the lyrically suggested resolution here was never intended to apply to the search for solutions to the racial divide which has been entrenched by warring racial allegiances of various stripes as a form of indefinite suspension of responsibility.¹¹ Instead, the early narrative of pioneer interracial vision serves as a present challenge to the status quo of social accommodation and self-serving pragmatism with respect to race and as a paradigm of hope for possible racial reconciliation someday – *some happy day*.

⁹ Terry Roberts, "Pentecostalism's Greatest Test Could Be Her Finest Hour," *Enrichment*, Summer 2010, vol. 7, <http://www.agts.edu/encounter/articles/2010summer/roberts.htm> (accessed January 22, 2011); see, also, David K. Bernard, "The Future of Oneness Pentecostalism" in *The Future of Pentecostalism in the United States*, Eric Patterson and Edmund Rybarczyk, eds. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 143.

¹⁰ Haywood, "Some Day," *Bridegroom Songs*, 6.

¹¹ See, "Pentecostal Partners: Racial Reconciliation Manifesto," Memphis, Tennessee, October 17-19, 1994, www.pentecostalworldfellowship.org/pub/manifesto.html (accessed June 27, 2006).

Appendix A

The Slave Owner Family of Ben Haywood¹ *Father of Garfield Thomas Haywood*

A.1 Descendants of William Haywood I

One of the grandsons of William Haywood I was the owner of Ben Haywood. Of the Raleigh slave owners and/or residents at the time of Ben Haywood's 1855 birth only five listed the ownership of a five-year-old Black male slave. These five slave owners were all grandsons of William Haywood I.

Dr. Fabius Julius Haywood
Dr. Edmund Burke Haywood
Dr. Richard Bennehan Haywood
Gen. Robert W. Haywood
William Haywood III, via Jane F. Haywood (widow)

Establishing the identity of which one of the grandsons of William Haywood I was the slave owner of Ben Haywood can only be narrowed down to five possible descendants: One of two sons of the most well-known Haywood, John Haywood, either (1) Fabius or (2) Edmund, one of two sons of Sherwood Haywood, either (3) Robert or (4) Richard, and (5) William III, via his wife Jane. According to the *1860 Slave Schedules* for Raleigh, no other Haywood family members in the city listed a five year old male slave born in 1855.²

In context, the earlier *1850 Raleigh Slave Schedules* indicate that eight different members of the Haywood family owned a total of 189 slaves in Raleigh. By the year 1860, interestingly, the number had increased substantially to fourteen Haywood family

¹ See, Chapter Two, 2.4 Profile of the Black Experience.

² Although no names for any of the slaves are listed in the schedules, oral family history confirms Raleigh as the city of Ben and Anne's birth and slave ownership. The birth date of "March" is confirmed, see, *1900 US Census*, Wayne Township, Marion County, Indiana, A12, (but lists "1860" in error); "N. Carolina" and the age "25" are confirmed (b. 1855), see, *1880 U. S. Census*, Monroe Township, Putnam County, Indiana, 5.

members who owned 311 slaves.³ And the *1860 Raleigh Slave Schedules* contain, of course, the record of Ben Haywood's family. All of these White Raleigh slave owner families lived in very close proximity to one another, although their fortunes and livelihoods were somewhat varied. An understanding of these families opens up a glimpse, however slight, of the world of the history and circumstance of the Black experience of Ben Haywood's slavery.

A.2 Dr. Fabius J. Haywood

Dr. Fabius Julius Haywood (1803-1880) was the oldest son of North Carolina's famed Treasurer, John Haywood, and a well-respected Raleigh physician and surgeon. By 1860 Fabius owned 47 Raleigh slaves.⁴ He was also the owner of the mother of famed Black educator, writer, and feminist, Anna Julia Haywood Cooper, whose father was White, and none other than Fabius' unmarried brother, George Washington Haywood, an attorney who later relocated to Alabama.

Cooper received her Ph.D., at the age of 65, from the University of Paris, Sorbonne. A Cooper biography describes Fabius Haywood as "a wealthy entrepreneur who amassed a fortune through family enterprises involving the acquisition of land, assumption of loans and promissory notes, leases and rentals, merchandising, partnerships, pharmaceuticals, and slaves."⁵

³ See, *Schedule 2: Slave Inhabitants*, Raleigh, NC, Wake Co., July 1850. Haywood residents in Raleigh, of course, held slaves outside Wake County, such as Robert W. Haywood, with 40 slaves in Chatham County, *Schedule 2: Slave Inhabitants*, Chatham County, North Carolina, August 1850; *Schedule 2: Slave Inhabitants*, Raleigh, Wake County, North Carolina, June 1860.

See, also, *1860 Slave Inhabitants*, Raleigh, NC, 3, 5, 14, 17, 18; cf., also, the total number of slaves owned by these five families: Fabius J. Haywood, in two locales, (22 and 25), Edward B. Haywood (18), Robert W. Haywood (48), Richard B. Haywood (31), and Jane F. Haywood (widow of William I) (32).

⁴ Haywood, *Sketch*, 29.

⁵ "Anna Julia (Haywood) Cooper: 1858-1964," http://voices.cla.umn.edu/vg/Bios/entries/cooper_anna_julia_haywood.html (accessed February 6, 2010).

A.3 Dr. Edmund Burke Haywood.

Dr. Edmund Burke Haywood (1825-1894), youngest son of John Haywood, and Fabius' youngest brother, married Lucy Ann Williams in 1850, daughter of a Raleigh pharmacist. He became a prominent surgeon in the Confederate States Army, and "served for 25 years on the Directorate of the State Hospital for the insane."⁶ He had 18 Raleigh slaves by 1860.

A.4 William Haywood III and Jane Haywood.

William and Jane Haywood raised nine children, three boys, two of which died within weeks of each other in the Civil War. The oldest, William Henry Haywood IV (1841-1864), was killed in the Battle of the Wilderness, and the second son, Lieutenant Duncan Cameron Haywood (1842-1864), at the Battle of Cold Harbor.⁷

The 1850 Census, by the absence of an "Edward G. Haywood," may indicate that William and Jane's third son died before age eleven. Although his profession is not known, William III himself died in 1852, leaving his widow, Jane Haywood, an estate which reported 32 slaves by 1860.

A.5 General Robert W. Haywood

Robert Haywood and Richard Haywood, sons of Sherwood Haywood (1762-1829), brother of William II, were cousins to William III. Notably, Sherwood Haywood himself owned, perhaps, the most famed of the North Carolina slaves, Lunsford Lane born in 1803. Lane was Sherwood's domestic servant. Lane later referred to Sherwood, in his autobiography, as a "genuinely paternalistic master."

⁶ Haywood, *Sketch*, 28, 33b-37; Ernest Haywood Collection (1752-1967), <http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/h/Haywood,Ernest.html> (accessed February 6, 2010).

⁷ <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~chatsol/fam011971.html> (accessed February 6, 2010) and Haywood, *Sketch*, 52, with *Sketch* listing the death of William IV at the Battle of Chancellorville. Jane F. Haywood, see, Wake County Estate Records, Est. #53, Folder #1 and #2, microfilm.

Lunsford Lane gained considerable notoriety in 1835 for operating a business at night in order to be able to purchase his own freedom, a freedom North Carolina refused to recognize until New York granted him freeman status. And, because law did not allow Blacks freed in another state to remain in North Carolina, he was finally forced to leave the state and his family by 1841.⁸ Upon his return to emancipate his family in 1842, he was summarily tarred and feathered, but, nonetheless, secretly managed to escape with his family. Lane convinced the Haywood family at that time to manumit his mother, and later, his father.⁹

A.6 Dr. Richard B. Haywood.

Both Gen. Robert W. Haywood (1812-1875) and Dr. Richard Bennehan Haywood (?-1891) were quite successful Raleigh natives. Between the two of them, they owned a total of 79 slaves in Raleigh by 1860. Information regarding Robert's commission and service as a General is scarce. It is known that his marriage in 1855 to Mary Jane White was cut short by her untimely death, August 29, 1857. Richard's medical career included attending Jefferson Medical School in Philadelphia, after which he married Julia Ogden Hicks.¹⁰

⁸ Lunsford Lane, *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, N.C., Embracing an Account of His Early Life, the Redemption by Purchase of Himself and Family from Slavery, And His Banishment from the Place of His Birth for the Crime of Wearing a Colored Skin*, in Documenting the American South series (Boston, 1842); www.docsouth.unc.edu/lanelunsford/menu.html (accessed July 14, 2007); Troy L. Kickler, "North Carolina History Project," John Locke Foundation, 2008; <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/18/entry> (accessed July 16, 2007); *The Heritage of the Blacks in North Carolina*, vol. 1, Linda Simmons-Henry, project director (Charlotte, NC: The North Carolina African-American Heritage Foundation, 1990), 13-20.

⁹ Sherwood died in 1829, his widow, Eleanor, 1855. Wake County NcArchives Obituaries, Haywood, Sherwood, October 5, 1829, <http://files.usgwarchives.org/nc/wake/obits/h/haywood1710gob.txt>, and the sister of Eleanor Hawkins Haywood, Delia, both originally from Warren County, married Sherwood's brother, Stephen Haywood, http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/h/Hawkins_Family.html (each accessed September 12, 2008).

¹⁰ Wake County NC Archives Obituaries, Haywood, Mary J., Mrs. Aug. 29, 1857, "...wife of GEN. ROBERT HAYWOOD, <http://files.usgwarchives.org/nc/wake/obits/h/haywood798ob.txt> (accessed September 12, 2008). He became part owner of the

Raleigh Planning Mills in 1853, with Thomas Devereux Hogg, http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/h/Hogg,Thomas_Devereux.html (accessed September 12, 2008); Haywood, *Sketch*, 54; See, Wake County, Estate Records, May 11, 1875.

Appendix B

Profiles of Early U.S. Oneness Pentecostal Pioneers *Regional Summary of the Movement's Earliest Leadership*

B.1 West & Northwest Region

Southern California formed the early center of emerging Oneness movement and its key leadership which initially formed around the ministry of Frank J. Ewart (4.6.2; 7.3.2) in Los Angeles. Hispanic Oneness churches first emerged in California in joint association with the ACFCJ and PAW, then the U.S. AAFCJ (7.4.1), with leaders such as Antonio Nava, Francisco Llorente, Marcial Cruz, and Juan Navarro. The earliest Black leadership (3.3.2) from the region included Edward S. and Mattie Lee, William and Maggie Bowdan, E. G. Lowe.¹

The earliest White PAW leadership (3.3.2) was Los Angeles based including William H. Pendleton (3.4.2), E. W. Doak (5.3; 5.9; 6.7.1), Glenn A. Cook (3.3.2; 3.6.1; 7.3.2), George B. Studd, Frank Bartleman, Fred and Sarah Poole, John Schaepe, George Farrow,² and R. E. McAlister (5.4.2). In Arizona the earliest Oneness minister was Guy R. Homes.³

¹ The parentheses indicate the Thesis chapter section(s) in which the major discussion of an individual(s) occurs.

² George Farrow was born in Montana in 1885, see, *1918 WWI Registration*; After rebaptism by Ewart in L.A. in January 1915 he worked with Frazee in Portland, home of his wife, Lulu Brumwell, probably among the earliest rebaptized there, see, George R. Farrow, "Letter to Lulu Brumwell," January 11, 1915 and *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 11; By 1920 he had established the Turlock, CA church and written "It's All In Him," one of the movement's most popular hymns.

³ By 1914 Guy Homes was in Mesa, AZ, but his brother R. L. Homes in Phoenix did not join the movement, see, *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 12; *1919 PAW Minute Book*; Wallace, *Old-Time Preacher Men*, 115-121. Homes exited the PAW in the sweep of post-merger independency by 1919, but established a Oneness work in Phoenix by 1922, cf. G. E. Wesson and Tim R. McCarty, *Apostolic Pioneers of Arizona* (Kearney, NE: Morris Publishing, 2002), 23.

In northern California by 1917-18 a major center developed around Harry Morse's Oakland work and the Oakland-Stockton-Sacramento area.⁴ The movement up the northwest coast formed another important center in Portland, Oregon around the leadership of J. J. Frazee (3.4.2; 4.1-4.2; 4.3.1; 4.3.3; 4.6.2; 5.1.1; 5.2). Subsequent to Frazee's 1918 PAW withdrawal the largely White northwest region began to revitalize slowly from independency with leadership such as that of Andrew C. Baker (7.3.2), Oregon City, Oregon, Fred Scott, Harry Judd, and Ralph Bullock.⁵

Also throughout the area the ministries of Robert G. Hammond (3.3.2) and William E. Booth-Clibborn (3.3.2; 6.7.1; 6.7.2) were significant, as was that of W. L. Stallones whose ministry impacted Arkansas, Idaho, and Maine before he went to California.⁶ In Idaho by 1917 the earliest Oneness ministers included Frank and Marie Muse and John H. Dearing. After the 1921 conversion of Mattie Crawford (5.4) scores were rebaptized in her revivals in the region, as well as those of Kenneth A. Wine and A. D. Hurt, in Idaho and Washington, including Frank Yadon.⁷

⁴ Originally from Wisconsin, Harry Morse (1879-1963) worked in Stockton before 1900, but returned prior to 1910 as a pastor, see, Wallace, *Profiles*, vol. 2, 283; Haney, *Man of the Hills*, 32. Morse was a key leader in the expansion of the movement in the region, see, "Our Trip Down the Coast," *Meat in Due Season*, June 1915, vol. 1, no. 6, 2. Harry and Maude Morse were part of the pre-merger, pre-Oneness PAW, see, *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 15, and already on the Ninth St. location where they started the popular Missionary Training School. Several leaders, such as Oscar Vouga, originated from Morse's work, see, Wallace, *Profiles*, 244-246.

⁵ "From Oregon City," *Meat in Due Season*, June 1916, vol. 1, no. 13, 1, "Andrew C. Baker... has received a revelation of the great truth of baptism in the name of Jesus Christ"; cf., Scism, *Northwest Passage*, 48-49;

⁶ R. G. Hammond, see, Larden, *Heritage*, 77. Booth-Clibborn was rebaptized while evangelizing in Wilburton, OK, August 1915, after *Meat in Due Season* "was placed in my hands," see, "A Preacher's Testimony," *Meat in Due Season*, December 1915, vol. 1, no. 9, 3, "Hugh York of Hartford, Arkansas.... baptized me.... I turned around and baptized him." He wrote *Christ—The Mystery of God* (by the author, n.d.) about 1919 and the famed "Down From His Glory" in 1921. W. L. Stallones, "Brother Wilner Levoy Stallones," *Historical News*, October-December, 1999, vol. 19, no. 14, 3.

⁷ Treece, *Beulah*, 173; Yadon, *Northwest*, 4-5; Scism, *Northwest Passage*, 79; Wiens, *Great Northwest*, 123, 131-132.

B.2 East & Northeast Region

A large nucleus of Black Oneness churches emerged in the region whereas the comparative growth of White churches remained slow. Key leaders in the region included R. C. Lawson (1.3.1; 5.6-5.7; 6.8; 6.10) in New York and S. C. Johnson⁸ in Philadelphia with COOLJC (5.6) and a growing number of PAW leaders in several states, such as Guy Jameson, Smallwood Williams (5.6; 5.7), and James A Morris in D.C.,⁹ Peter J. F. Bridgers (6.3; 7.8) and Samuel J. Grimes (7.5; 7.8) in New York, and Joseph Turpin in Baltimore.

Due to the influence of Oddous Barber (3.7-3.8) and C. R. Wilkes, Boston initially became an interracial center with the 1917 campaigns of L. C. Hall and Haywood in which hundreds, including R. G. Cook, were rebaptized.¹⁰ White church growth in the east was largely further north into Maine and New Brunswick, beginning Dearing's move from Idaho to Charleston, Maine by 1920. Due to Dearing's influence, what was known as the Woodstock Convention swept a large percent of the New Brunswick Pentecostal ministers into the Oneness movement in 1922. With Woodstock only twelve miles east of Maine's U.S. border, the entire area was impacted.¹¹ Since this time New Brunswick has remained an important regional center of the Oneness movement.

⁸ Johnson later founded the Church of The Lord Christ of the Apostolic Faith.

⁹ Morris later founded Highway Christian Church of Christ.

¹⁰ Ralph G. Cook (1899-1981) left Boston by 1919, worked with Haywood, then pastored in Bloomington, IN, Louisiana, Arkansas, Foxboro, MA, and Ohio. He was UPC Asst. Gen. Supt. (1963-1971); See, Mary Wallace, *He Stands Tall* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Press, 1980), 67ff, and Ralph G. Cook, "Let's Get Acquainted," *Pentecostal Outlook*, October 1939, in *Historical News*, Summer 2003, 3.

¹¹ Dearing (1880-1940) was born in Farmington, WA, see, Treece, *Beulah*, 173, 176; Wallace, *Old-Time Preacher Men*, 27-33; Morehouse, *Pioneers*, 37-41; Wallace, *Profiles*, vol. 1, 114-116. Leonard Parent, in "Let's Get Acquainted," *Pentecostal Outlook*, October-November 1940, 3, 16, confirms that the first rebaptisms were in 1922; cf., Morehouse, *Pioneers*, 70-71; Ralph Reynolds and Joyce Morehouse, *From the Rising of the Sun* (New Westminster, BC: Conexions Publishing, 1998), 30-52.

The first Oneness church in Maine was established in Bangor in 1922 by twin sisters from Georgia, Susie Davis (1884-1962) and Carro Davis (1884-1976), who had been Spirit baptized at Urshan's Chicago mission in 1910. By 1924 they had established their premiere work in Saint John, New Brunswick.¹²

B.3 North & Midwest Region

Like Haywood's work in Indiana, several high profile African American churches impacted the northern region which was quickly becoming a burgeoning center of African American Oneness Pentecostalism. These included flagship works such as that of Samuel N. Hancock (5.10.1) in Detroit, John S. Holly in Chicago, and, in Ohio, E. F. Akers in Dayton, Karl F. Smith (5.6; 7.2; 7.8) and Martin R. Gregory (5.6; 7.4; 7.9) in Columbus, and A. R. Schooler (5.9) in Cleveland. Haywood's interracial ministry played the key role in the initial development of St. Paul as a northern Oneness center (5.10.1),¹³ with other key leaders in the region such as L. C. Hall (2.1.2) and Andrew D. Urshan (3.3.2; 5.4; 6.7.1) a key figure in Chicago and Wisconsin.

In Indiana, in addition to the White expansion of the movement in Indianapolis (3.3.2; 7.7) in the ministries of such leaders as Lena O. Spillman, Oscar C. Hughes, L. V. Roberts (5.5; 6.10), T. C. Davis (6.7), and H. L. Alvey, other areas of influence in the region included the ministries of G. B. Rowe (7.2; 7.7), A. F. Varnell (7.2; 7.3.2) and the EMA (now BMA), and L. R. Ooton (7.3.2). And the north and Midwest evidenced considerable growth in both the Black and White segments of the movement, as far west

¹² Attendees of the 1916 AG General Council meetings, they were a part of the Oneness walked out, see, Larden, *Heritage*, 87-88; Also, Morehouse, *Pioneers*, 33-36, 203; James E. Peters and Patricia Pickard, *Prevailing Westerlies: The Pentecostal Heritage of Maine* (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image, 1988), 390-393, 574-575, 156; Patricia P. Pickard, *The Davis Sisters: Their Influences and Their Impact* (Bangor, ME: by the author, 2009).

¹³ Early pastors in St. Paul include H. O. "Bert" Scott and Eric S. Stone, photographed in the July camp meeting, see, also, "St. Paul-Minneapolis," *Meat in Due Season*, September 1917, vol. 1, no. 7, 4, as well as Harvey McAlister, Gilbert Sweaza, William Booth-Clibborn, and, in 1934, S. G. and Jessie Norris.

as Kansas,¹⁴ and especially in Illinois,¹⁵ Indiana and Ohio, exemplified in the ministries of James A. Frush (5.5) in Newark, Ohio,¹⁶ Homer L. White (4.7) in Athens, Ohio and Decatur, Illinois,¹⁷ and W. T. Witherspoon in Columbus.¹⁸

B.4 South & Southwest Region

Several southern and eastern Black churches were already divided from the PAW interracial efforts (1.3.2; 5.1.1; 5.9; 5.10.1) even before 1919 having coalesced in the south around the Holiness ministries (3.3.2; 5.10; 7.4; 7.9) of Frank W. Williams' AFMCG and W. T. Phillips' AOHCG in Alabama and Thomas J. Cox and the CGA in Kentucky and the Carolinas. Although few in number there were some notable Black PAW ministries in the south (5.9) including that of Floyd I. Douglas in Louisville,¹⁹

¹⁴ Herbert Davis (5.9) in Leavenworth, an African American, and Harry Nigh in Council Grove, White, were among the earliest pioneers. Davis, Spirit filled in California, was in Kansas before 1919 and on the PAW Board of Elders by 1920, see, *1917 & 1920-21 PAW Minute Book*; William Chalfant, "History of Truth Tabernacle UPCI, Leavenworth, Kansas," February 27, 2004.

¹⁵ The earliest works in Illinois included that of S. S. Grant in Pinckneyville (after 1917), Hira Byers in Iola (1918), J. O. Underwood in Bellville (1920), and Pearl B. Champion in Carbondale (after 1919); See, *Our Pentecostal Heritage* (Bloomington, IL: Illinois District UPC, 1962), 1, 36; "In Memoriam," *Pentecostal Herald*, March 1972, 21; "In Memoriam," *Pentecostal Herald*, September 1977, 20; Cagle, *Echoes*, 35ff.

¹⁶ Stanley R. Hanby, an early leader, was converted under Frush in 1916, see, Ruth Doggette, *One Man's Journey Through Life With God* (By the author, n.d), 1-3.

¹⁷ White (1892-1973) was Spirit filled in 1912 at T. K. Leonard's Findlay convention at which Haywood was speaker, see, Wallace, *Profiles*, vol. 2, 370-2; In 1915 he was the second rebaptized east of the Mississippi with L. V. Roberts whom he was assisting, see, Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 47; cf., *1917 PAW Minute Book*, 11, 19.

He and Karl Smith were "roughed up" for interracial street preaching in Athens, see, Smith, *A Devout Man*, 10, and Wallace, *Profiles*, vol. 2, 373. He assumed the pastorate in Decatur, IL in 1923.

¹⁸ William Thomas Witherspoon (1880-1947) received Spirit baptism in 1912 in Pittsburg, moved to Columbus in 1914 where heard Haywood and embraced Oneness theology, and by 1917 established a church. He was PAJC Chairman 1938-1945; see, Clanton, *United*, 301-302; Wallace, *Profiles*, 271-174. Stanley Chambers, later Superintendent of the UPC (1967-1978), was Spirit filled in Witherspoon's church in 1930, see, Judith Bentley, *Ship Ahoy: The Life and Times of Stanley & Catherine Chambers* (Bridgeton, MO: Bentley Educational Ministries, 2001), 15.

¹⁹ Douglas, from Bardstown, KY, was Spirit filled and called to ministry in Louisville in 1911, then joined the PAW in 1912, see, La Monte McNeese, "FAC Council History," www.facdytn.org/History.com (accessed February 5, 2007).

Dunlop Chenault in San Antonio, and Austin A. Layne's work in St. Louis, founded by Lawson, the city's first Black Oneness church.

Further south (6.7.2) a sizeable number of White churches formed independent associations in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Georgia (7.3.2) around the ministries of E. E. Partridge and H. A. Riley (7.3.2) in the AMJC (now ABC) (7.3.2) and the CJC churches spearheaded by E. L. Farris, M. K. Lawson, and B. R. Hawthorne. And the early JOAC, CLJC, and AsCJC with concentrations of churches in the Midwest and south, especially Texas and Louisiana (7.3.2), highlighted the ministries of leaders such as R. B. Bingham, Sr., L. A. Parent, J. T. Payne, and J. L. Pipkin.

The integrated PAW and early splinter groups had almost no representation in the Carolinas, Alabama, Georgia and Florida and only a small number of churches in five others. Some of the earliest known pioneers were T. C. Montgomery and Lester E. Partee in Mississippi,²⁰ Alford Ball, Horace and Thomas J. Skirvin, Jess Collins, and Roy A. Johnson in Kentucky,²¹ and Myrtle Marple, W. H. Forbush, J. D. Grover, and C. C. Zuefle in West Virginia.²²

Somewhat larger centers formed in Tennessee where early leaders included H. G. Rodgers (3.3.2; 7.3.1), J. C. Brickey, E. J. Douglas, A. D. Gurley, and A. N. Graves.²³

²⁰ Montgomery founded the UPCI Tupelo Children's Mansion, see, T. C. Montgomery, *A Brief Story of My Life* (by the author, n. d.); *Historical News*, October-December 1998, vol. 18, no. 1, 3; Eugene Holder and W. L. Cole, *Voice of the Pioneers-Pentecostal: North Mississippi & North Georgia* (Marietta, GA: Open Bible Tabernacle, Inc., and Q. Eugene Holder, 2000), 7, 22, 24-28, 36.

²¹ With works in Olive Hill, Gent, and Lawton, 1917-1920; See, "Skirvin," see, *1919 PAW Ministerial Record*, 21; Lloyd Dean, *Kentucky Pentecostal Heritage*, vol. 2 (Morehead, KY: by the author, 2000), 10, 18, 31; vol. 1 (by the author, 1998), 22-23; *Historical News*, January-March 1987, 3.

²² In Charleston and Huntington, see, Joretta Scott, "A Tribute to a Pioneer," *Pentecostal Herald*, April 1988, 7, 14.

²³ Rodgers (1864-1950), Brickey (1890-1939), Douglas (1888-1959), Gurley (1889-1976), Graves (1893-1975); See, Wallace, *Tennessee*, 16-20, 25-31, 84-99, 33-39, 168-181; E. J. Douglas, "Early Days of My Ministry," *Pentecostal Herald*, July 1947, 3; Wallace, *Profiles*, 47-59, 71-90.

Likewise, in Oklahoma the earliest churches were in Dewar, Pawnee, and Sallisan, after which early works were started by temporary Texas transplant Jerry E. Osborn (2.2.2). Theodore Smith, who was rebaptized after hearing Haywood in Cincinnati, started early works in Skiatook, Sperry, and Morris, and Arthur T. Duck, from Arkansas, was in Tulsa by 1922.²⁴

The fourth largest concentration of early southern Oneness churches was in Missouri which benefited from the itinerant north-south evangelism of Whites able to traverse regions indiscriminately, such as the ministry of Odell Cagle.²⁵ The movement first emerged in St. Louis with the early ministries of Mother Moise (3.3.2), Mother Barnes (5.4.2), and Ben Pemberton (7.3.1), with early significant works also led by B. H. Hite and W. H. Whittington (7.3.1; 7.3.2).²⁶

Early in the 1920's Louisiana became one of the largest areas of Oneness growth behind only that of Texas and Arkansas. Reportedly, every AG minister but one was rebaptized at the Elton Bible Conference in December 1915 after the teaching of David

²⁴ Osborn in Wildcat, Russell, and Carter, by 1921, see, Treece, *Beulah*, 155, 177-186, 194; Smith, previously in Neosho, MO, was in Skiatook by 1919, see, Booker, "Floyd Interview," 21-22; Martin, *Tulsa Story*, 12, 17-18, 21-29; *1919 PAW Minute Book*, with listing for Charles V. Bettis, Lewis H. Hulvey, and James Duca, 11, 16, 14.

²⁵ See, Cagle, *Echoes of the Past*, 34-59; Born in Alabama in 1900 Charles Odell Cagle moved to Cardwell, MO in 1912 where his family was Spirit filled in H. H. Hite's tent meetings in 1917, vii, 12, 16; Studying at Opperman's Arkansas school 1918 to 1920, 27-33, he later ministered in Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, 34-89.

²⁶ By 1900 Moise (1850-1930) had established a home for girls and a mission in St. Louis. Barnes (1854-1939) came to assist her sometime before 1910 and worked with her into the late 1920's. Ben Pemberton (1891-1963) was Spirit filled in 1909 in Iola, MO and, by 1913, was working with Moise; See, Lenore Barnes and Mary G. Moise. *1910 U.S. Census*, St. Louis, MO, EDN270, 14A; Lenore Barnes, *1930 U.S. Census*, St. Louis, MO, EDN96-189, 4A. B. H. Hite (1888-1948), from Kentucky, was Spirit baptized in 1912 in Nashville, rebaptized in 1916, and evangelized extensively before starting a St. Louis mission by 1921, see, also, J. L. Hall, "Early Pentecostals in St. Louis," Part 1, *Pentecostal Herald*, October 1994, 10, 18; Wallace, *Old-Time Preacher Men*, 181-195; Wallace, *Tennessee*, 21-24.

Lee Floyd, Charles A. Smith, and Howard A. Goss.²⁷ Some of the early key pioneers in the state include Robert L. LaFleur, Harvey Shearer, and Bennie Baggett, with Merryville and DeQuincy two of the earliest revival centers.²⁸ Among the early pioneers were W. F. Haley in Provencal and Crisp Reason in Tioga and Alexandria, and by 1925 a key Louisiana leader was S. L. Wise.²⁹

As the movement's early center Arkansas' role in early Oneness Pentecostalism is legendary even though it was not able to maintain its leadership edge in the region with key changes leadership, Howard A. Goss (2.1.2; 3.2; 3.3.1; 7.3.2) leaving Hot Springs for Picton, Ontario in 1919 and D. C. O. Opperman (5.1.1; 7.3.2) closing his Bible School and leaving in 1920. Other early pioneers include David Lee Floyd (2.1.2; 3.3.1; 5.1.1), C. P. Kilgore,³⁰ Clarence T. Craine,³¹ S. C. McClain in Fort Smith (2.1.2; 4.1), Ben Blunt,³² G. C. McDaniel (2.1.2),³³ G. H. Brown, H. E. Reed, and C. A. Pyatt.³⁴

²⁷ As early as 1907 there was a report of Spirit baptism in Louisiana resulting from simply "reading" *The Apostolic Faith* from Azusa Street, see, "New Orleans, Louisiana," *The Apostolic Faith*, vol. 1, no. 10, Sept. 1907, 2. See, also, Floyd, "Interview," 47-53; Tenney, *The Flame*, 14-18, 24; Fauss, *What God Hath Wrought*, 65-67, 179, 181-182, 185-186.

²⁸ See, *History of the First United Pentecostal Church of DeQuincy (1915-1983)* (DeQuincy, LA: FUPC, 1983), 4ff; Fauss, *What God Hath Wrought*, 57-63.

²⁹ Spirit baptized in a Smith and LaFleur 1913 Texas tent meeting, Wise was rebaptized at the Elton Bible Conference, see, Tenney, *The Flame*, 28-29; Edna Nation, *Spenser Leslie Wise: A Biographical Sketch* (Florissant, MO: by the author, 1991), 15, 27, 32, 37, 48-53, 60, 68-71.

³⁰ In 1920 in Social Hill, AK near Malvern Kilgore received Spirit baptism in a Roxie Hughes revival and he started ministry in 1922 in Friendship, AR, later ministering throughout Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and California; See, Blanch Faye Shoemake, *Blanche Faye: Pioneer Pentecostal Experiences as Witnessed through the Eyes of a Child* (Chula Vista, CA: by the author, 2007), 2-4, 7, 55; Wallace, *Old-Time Preacher Men*, 198.

³¹ Craine (1889-1976) was Spirit filled at Goss' work in Malvern in 1909, attended Opperman's school in Joplin in 1910, and was rebaptized in Hot Springs in January 1915, after receiving a tract on Jesus' Name baptism late in 1914; His earliest ministry included Hot Springs, Eureka Springs, and Green Forest; See, Martin, *Tulsa Story*, 37; Wallace, *Profiles*, 61-64.

³² In 1908 at Redfield, AR Blunt (1891-1953) experienced Spirit baptism at Madge Kinneson's church and was rebaptize in early 1917 along with W. E. Kidson in

By the mid-1920's Texas had quickly grown into the largest center of Oneness Pentecostalism anywhere with Dallas, initially, the earliest growth center. Among the earliest pioneers in the Dallas area were W. H. Lyons (2.1.2; 7.3.1) and Jerry Osborn (2.1.2; 5.10.2).³⁵ Another prominent early pioneer was R. L. Blankenship (2.2.1; 7.3.2). Evidently, although Houston soon developed into one of the largest Oneness centers, its earliest church which was founded by A. A. Matney and C. W. Dowden was not established until 1921.³⁶ One of the most prominent of the early leaders in the south, Oliver F. Fauss (1898-1980), established a premiere work in Houston by 1928.³⁷

Quincy, Illinois by Earl D. Hill from Mt. Vernon. He ministered throughout Arkansas, Missouri, and Illinois; See, Wallace, *Profiles*, vol. 2, 49-57.

³³ McDaniel (1887-1955) was Spirit filled in Goss' Malvern tent meeting in 1909 (as was Ethel (Wright) Goss), was rebaptized when L. C. Hall was pastor in Malvern in 1915, and began his early ministry in Thornton and Pine Bluff; See, Wallace, *Profiles*, 135, 141.

³⁴ H. E. Reed, "The Birth of Water and Spirit," *The Blessed Truth*, August 15, 1918, vol. 3, no. 1, 1, 2; "Bible School in Hot Springs," *The Blessed Truth*, October 1, 1921, vol. 5, no. 10, 2; Wallace, *Profiles*, 172-174. C. A. Pyatt, see, *The Blessed Truth*, December 15, 1918, vol. 3, no. 18, 4.

³⁵ As Osborn's congregation observed from the shore, Goss rebaptized him in c.1916 in Walnut Spring, Texas. In 1917 he was a speaker in Eureka Springs at the only GAAA Bible Conference ever held; See, Treece, *Beulah*, 173, 251-252; Goss, *Winds of God*, 145.

³⁶ A. A. Matney, "The Founding of Jesus' Name Pentecostal Churches in Houston Area," *Historical News*, July-September 1995, 2-3; Wallace, *Profiles*, vol. 2, 281-282.

³⁷ O. F. Fauss (1898-1890) spent his early ministry in Louisiana in Pine Wood, DeQuincy, and Kinder and went to Bronson, Texas in 1919. He was Spirit baptized in Ganado, Texas in 1911 and rebaptized at the Elton Bible Conference, Elton, Louisiana in December 1915; See, Fauss, *What God Hath Wrought*, 1, 64, 28, 36; *1918 WWI Registration*, Order #2601; *1919 PAW Minute Book*, 14; *1920 U.S. Census*, Kinder, LA, 4A.

Appendix C

Early Oneness Pentecostal Missionaries (1914-1930)

*Alphabetical List*¹

C.1 Early Oneness Missionaries – A Context of Fluidity

Even with the limited scope of primary sources for the earliest Oneness period, it is demonstrable that the movement attracted numerous missionaries and their respective mission constituencies into the Oneness Pentecostal fold. The following is a composite list of 164 such missionaries drawn from early Oneness sources which indicate that more than half (59%) had converted in the earliest period and mostly before the 1920's. Many of these were drawn into the movement while in the midst of missionary labors around the world.

The premier missionary analysis of this same period in Anderson's *Spreading Fires* encompasses about 254 missionaries of which twenty eight became involved with Oneness Pentecostalism.² A few of the early missionaries who joined the movement were only involved with Oneness Pentecostalism temporarily, such as Robert Cook, although the fluidity of their association with the movement remains somewhat obscure.³ For example, some missionaries, such as B. O. Moore, who may not have remained with the

¹ See, Chapter Seven, 7.41 Autonomous Oneness Organization and 7.4.2 Oneness Pentecostal Missionary Expansion.

² Allan H. Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007). Only Bernt and Magna Bernsten, early missionaries to China, are specifically noted in Anderson as possibly Oneness, see, 30, 54, 64, 125, 133. Additionally, though, twenty eight of the other missionaries referenced (11%) were also involved in the movement.

³ The most obscure data relative to early Oneness missionary involvement and/or temporary involvement includes only a few of the early missionaries, Robert F. Cook (India), B. O. Moore and C. F. and Marie Juergensen (Japan), Mary A. Posey (China), and Joseph K. Blakeney (South Africa). Also, a few missionaries due to their later unknown affiliation are not included although they were listed early (1914-1915) as missionaries with *The Voice in the Wilderness*: Estelle Bernauer (Japan), L. M. Anglin and Adolph Hiencke (China), and P. R. Rushin (Philippines).

movement indefinitely, nonetheless, had considerable and prolonged early involvement and often high profile early association with Oneness Pentecostalism, although much of the details remain sketchy.

Also, although the vast majority of Oneness missionaries from the Haywood period of the movement prior to 1931 were already in their respective fields before the 1920's, the missionary data gleaned from *The Christian Outlook* of the interracial PAW suggests that approximately 35-40 missionaries were being supported between 1922 and 1926.

Another interesting fact has to do with large number of non-Oneness missionaries which Haywood continued to support via *The Voice in the Wilderness* and his local Indianapolis congregation before the all-Oneness merger of the PAW and GAAA. Eighteen missionaries or missionary couples were listed in three extant issues between 1916 and 1918 who were not known to have ever been directly associated with the Oneness movement.⁴ Also, many Oneness missionaries received funds from each of the Oneness groups which emerged from the 1924 PAW split.

The bulk of the data regarding the early Oneness Pentecostal missionaries is derived from organizational missionary lists or from the following primary sources:

BT – *The Blessed Truth*, D. C. O. Opperman, ed.
CO – *The Christian Outlook*, G. T. Haywood, ed.
ECJC – *ECJC Minute Book and Ministerial Roster 1927-1928*
GR – *The Good Report*, Frank J. Ewart, ed.
MB – Missionary Biography
MDS – *Meat In Due Season*, Frank J. Ewart, ed.
PAW – *PAW Minute Book and Ministerial Record 1919-1920*

⁴ See, the following issues of *The Voice in the Wilderness*: No. 18, October 1916 – *China*: George Hansen, H. L. Lawler, H. J. Mader, Olive Maw; *South America*: R. S. McBride, Daniel Berg; *Africa*: Anna Richards, John Perkins; *India*: Miss C. B. Herron, Edith Kirschner; No.19, December 1916 – *China*: T. & Drusie R. Mallot, Lettie M. Ward, J. Raymond Benning; *South Africa*: Jacob O. & Lily Lehman; No. 24, June 1918 – *Africa*: Bertha Sutley, Anna Richards; *South America*: Lucy Leatherman; *India*: Robert R. Cook; *China*: Olive E. Maw. By the June 1918 issue Haywood was speaking of those missionaries who had “accepted the message.”

PhP – *Phenomenon of Pentecost*, Frank J. Ewart
PT – *The Present Truth*, L. V. Roberts, ed.
R-T – *Brief History*, Hilda Reeder; *Chalices of Gold*, James L. Tyson
VW – *The Voice in the Wilderness*, G. T. Haywood, ed.
WG – *The Winds of God*, Howard A. Goss

* – single or widowed (otherwise, all listings are missionary couples)

m – subsequent married name

nm – national minister receiving U.S. missionary finances

C.2 96 Oneness Missionaries between 1915 and 1921

<u>Missionary</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Source</u>
Aikenhead, May* (m: Burnside)	China	ACOP
Bass, Earnest R.	China	MDS, R-T
Bateson, Albert	China	BT, PAW
Beddell, Saul	Persia	GR
Berntsen, Bernt, & Magna	China	BT, PAW, WG
Biddle, Willard S.* (Mrs.)	China	ACOP, BT, CO
Blakeney, Joseph K.	South Africa	MDS, GR
Booker, Melvia	China	BT, PAW
Bottomley, Golden(Harrison)*(Mrs.)	China	BT, MDS, PAW
& Albert (<i>d. 1918</i>)		
Burnside, W. H.,	China	BT, CO, R-T, PAW
& May (Aikenhead)		
Clark, J. E., &	India	BT, PAW, VW
Clark, Margaret* (Mrs.)		
Condrajian, Harry	Turkey (Armenia)	BT
Cook, Robert F.	Bangalore, S. India	R-T, VW
(<i>only until 1926</i>)		
Coote, Leonard W.	Japan	BT, CO, ECJC, MB, MDS, PhP, PMA
Cound, George	China	BT, CO, ECJC
Denny, Frank, & Lillian	China	BT, GR, MDS, PAW, PhP, VW
Dickson, Louie* (Miss)	Palestine	ACOP, BT, CO, PMA
Doak, E. W., & Nellie	Egypt	BT, GR, MDS, PAW, VW
Doyal, George H.	China	BT
Early, James M. (<i>d. 1921</i>)	Liberia	BT, PAW
Edkins, E.	South Africa	BT, PAW, VW
Faulkner, H. L.	China	GR, MDS
Gray, Frank,	Japan	BT, MB, MDS, PAW
& May (Heath) (<i>CMA Missionary 1902-1906</i>)		
Grimes, Samuel J.	Liberia	BT, CO, R-T
Gunstad, N. O., & Marie	Chili, Bolivia	BT, CO, GR, VW
Habacker, Tillie* (Miss)	China	BT, PAW
Hammond, Elmer B. (<i>d.1916</i>)	China	GR, MDS, VW
& Hattie (<i>m: Storey</i>)		
Hammond, Corabelle* (<i>m: Small</i>)	China	BT, GR, MDS, PAW

Haish, Cora* (Miss)	China	BT, R-T, PAW
Harrison, Addell * (Mrs.)	China	BT, MDS, PAW
Heidal, A.	China	BT
Hensley, Carl M., & Mabel E.	China	BT, CO, MB, PAW, PhP,PMA
Hofer, Lyda* (Miss)	China, India	GR, VW
Holmes, Phoebe*	China	ACJC, BT, MDS, PAW, VW, PMA
Hult, Alma C.	China	BT, CO
Iry, Mae* (Mrs.)	China	ACJC,BT,CO,ECJC, MB, PMA
Jacobs, A. (nm)	India	BT, PAW+, VW
James, John D.	China	BT, MDS, VW
Johns, Clarence	Hawaii	BT
Johns, H. J.	Hawaii	BT, MDS
Joyner, Paul M.	Palestine	BT, PAW
Juergensen, C. F., & Marie	Japan	BT, MDS, PAW, VW
Kelly, George (<i>rebaptized 1927</i>)	China	GR, MB, PhP, WG
Kok, Anna*	China	BT, CO
Kugler, Alice S.* (<i>m: Sheets</i>)	China	BT, CO, ECJC, MDS, PAW,PMA
Lazarus, Boba	Persia	BT, GR
Lee, Henry (nm)	Jamaica	CO, MB
Lowther, Willa B.	China	BT
McCarty, Dorothea L.*	India	ACJC, BT, CO, ECJC, GR, MDS,VW, PMA
McCullough, D.	Palestine	BT
McLean, Hector, & Sigrid (<i>with PMU until 1927</i>)	China, Burma	BT, PAW
Mayton, Paul, & Agnes	Czechoslovakia	PAW
Merrin, W. H., & Edith E.	India	BT, PAW
Miller, Clyde T.	British East Africa	BT, CO, R-T
Mocuacueng, Oliphant (nm)	South Africa	PAW
Molongoane, F. N. (nm)	South Africa	PAW
Moore, George M.	South Africa	BT, CO, PAW
Moore, Barney. S.	Japan	MS, PT, VW
Moore, A. O.	India	ECJC, PMA
Morgan, Chonita	Mexico	MB – AAFCJ
Nichols, Nettie D.*	China	GR, MDS
Phillips, Ralph	China	BT, CO, PAW
Posey, Mary A.	China, Hawaii	MDS
Pyatt, C. A.	China	BT
Raby, Anna*	China	BT, CO, PAW, R-T
Ramsey, F. S.	China	BT, GR, MDS, PhP, PAW, VW
Randall, H. E.	Egypt	BT, GR, MDS, PAW
Reynolds, Arthur	China	BT, CO, ECJC
Ross, Arthur D.	Africa	BT, PAW
Roth, Peter A., & Minnie M.	Switzerland	BT, CO, PAW
Russell, Nina R.	Jamaica	MB

Sheets, Daniel Keefer, & Alice Sarah (<i>see, Kugler</i>)	China	MB, PhP, PAW
Sherman, H. J.	Mexico	MDS
Sly, L. B.	Uruguay, Ecuador, Cuba, Colombia	ACJC, BT, R-T, PAW
Smith, William Bodie	Jamaica	MB
Sonnenberg, Robert, & Alice (Iry)	China	BT, CO, ECJC
Sonnenberg, Lydia	China	PAW
Spooner, Kenneth E. M.	South Africa	MDS, VW
Steinberg, Edgar C.	China	BT, MDS, PMA, VW
Stieglitz, Elizabeth (Harrison)*	China	BT, MB, PAW, PhP, PMA, R-T
Storey, Charles W., & Harriet M.	China	BT, MDS, PAW, VW
Tefre, Henry, & Olive	India	ACJC, ECJC
Thebe, Jeremiah R.	South Africa	PAW
Tinker, Jessie* (Miss)	India	MS, PAW
Urshan, Andrew D.	Persia	BT, GR, MDS, PhP, VW
Urshan, Timothy D.	Palestine	BT, CO, ECJC, PAW, PMA
Walker, Manuel	Mexico	MB – AAFCJ
Watson, Arthur (<i>d. 1925</i>)	Jamaica	BT, CO, PAW
Weaver, H. C.	Hawaii	BT, CO
White, George, & Melvina (nm+)	Jamaica	MB, PAW+, R-T
Wick, Emma L.*	South Africa	BT
Wingard, A.	China	BT
Wortham, Ruth	Alaska	BT,
Wright, Ada*	South China	BT
Yest, Nicholas, & Mary	China	CO, VW, PAW

C.3. 68 Additional Missionaries between 1922 and 1930⁵

Allison, Samuel	Liberia	CO
Anderson, Carry	China	CO
Antha, A. T. (nm+)	South Africa	PAW+
Badger, Llewellyn	South Africa	Com PAW+
Balca, Jan (nm+)	Yugoslavia, Hungary	MB
Bohlokoane, C. M. (nm+)	South Africa	PAW+
Broadnax, Rosa Lee*	Jamaica	PAW+
Brown, Lloyd D.	East Africa (Kenya)	CO
Brown, Walter* (Mrs.)	China	CO
Budge, J. G. (nm+)	South Africa	PAW+

⁵ In 1928 the restructured PAW implemented a short-term missionary support program for national ministers in key leadership roles in various countries, which included a total of twelve national ministers by 1930 based upon the *PAW Minute Book and Ministerial Record 1930-1931*. These missionaries were mostly in South Africa, Jamaica, Eastern Europe, Liberia, and India. The extra designation of “nm+” is used to denote these specific missionaries. Also, the designation “PAW+” is used for the remaining new missionary listings from the *1930 Minute Book*.

Cheatham, S. Eugene	Liberia	CO, R-T
DuToit, J. F. (nm+)	South Africa	PAW+
Fleming, R. A.	Japan (<i>by 1929</i>)	R-T
Georges, D. D.	Greece	CO
Georges, D. H.	Jamaica	CO
Gray, Pekro	Liberia	CO
Holmes, Aaron, & Pearl	Liberia	MB – COOLJC
Huba, Anton	Czechoslovakia	MB
Huba, John	Czechoslovakia	MB
Hull, W. L.	Iraq, Israel	ACOP
Ivanhoff (nm+)	Russia	CO, PAW+
Jamieson, Caleb	Jamaica	PAW+
Johns, Clarence	Hawaii	CO
Johnson, L. M.	China	CO
Johnson, Ted	China	ACOP
Joseph, N. John (nm)	India	CO
King, Elsie	China	PMA
Lerch, John	Hungary	PAW+
Ledbetter, L. R.	Africa	CO, R-T
Leonard, Garland, & Eleanor	China	ACJC, PMA
Long, M.* (Mrs.)	Estonia	CO
Lye, Alice*	China	ACOP
Lye, Florence*	China	ACOP
McCune, Henry	China	R-T
MacGregor, William B.	India, Jamaica	CO, ECJC, R-T
Matson, Joseph	China	ACOP
Mayton, Paul, & Agnes	Czechoslovakia	PAW
Miller, Cleophas (Clyde Miller's son)	Kenya	CO
<i>(died in Kenya, son of missionary Clyde Miller)</i>		
Mingard, Adolph	China	CO
Morabe, Barry E. (nm+)	South Africa	PAW+
Morar, Samuel (nm+)	India	PAW+
Moses, Willie (nm+)	South Africa	PAW+
Nann, Otto L. (nm+)	India	PAW+
Paulson, S.* (Miss)	South Africa	CO
Paulson, S.* (Mrs.)	South Africa	CO
Phelps, C. W.	Cuba	CO
Phelps, Raymond	China	R-T
Porter, Elizabeth*	Liberia	CO
Powar, J. Benj. (nm+)	India	PAW+
Reznicek, Joseph	India	ACJC, MB, PMA, PAW+
Robinson, Ophelia*	Liberia	MB
Sikora, John, & Susanna (nm)	Estonia	CO, R-T
Silverstein, A.	Bulgaria	CO
Smisek, Karol (nm+)	Yugoslavia	PAW+
Spence(r)* (Mrs.)	China	CO, R-T
Stapleton, Nina A.*	Jamaica	CO
Stiles, C. D.	Hawaii	CO
Stromquist, A. E.	Japan	ACOP
Swanepoel, J. H. (nm)	South Africa	CO, R-T

Teasley, Pearl	Liberia	MB – COOLJC
Thomas, J. B.	Iraq, Israel	ACJC, PMA
Tucker, Cordelia*	Liberia	CO, PAW+
Walent, Adam	Yugoslavia	CO
Sier, Wier (nm+)	Liberia	PAW+
Wilson, Nathan	Jamaica	PAW+
Wilson, R. M.* (Mrs.)	Jamaica	PAW+
Wise, Henrietta	India	ECJC
Wright, Rosa Lee	Liberia	MB – COOLJC

Appendix D

Pacifism and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World *The 1917 Investigation of the PAW by the U.S. Bureau of Investigation*

D.1 Pentecostal Pacifism in the 20th Century Context

When the First World War began in July 1914, some Pentecostals, like Boddy in England, patriotically supported it. Others, though, like Donald Gee, advocated civil disobedience in his opposition to it, viewing it as a violation of the Gospel itself.¹ The majority of early Pentecostals, like Gee, were pacifists, opposing war as the antithesis of the gospel of peace, while, at the same time, greatly concerned to express loyalty and support for the government. Bartleman said of war, “It is nothing short of hell.” The U.S. entered the war late, April 6, 1917, and, sadly, by the time Germany surrendered, November 11, 1918, over 15 million were dead.²

In his book *Peace to War*, an extensive analysis of the pacifist beliefs of the early Assemblies of God, Paul Alexander reaches the conclusion that what was true of the broader movement was also true of the Assemblies of God. The AG membership was, according to Alexander, a *pacifist majority*, as was true of most of the early Pentecostal denominations, such as COGIC and the PAW. Wacker’s analysis of AG pacifism suggests, less convincingly, that it was a “minority position” which quickly disappeared, based on a supposed lack of later published articles. Contrary to Wacker evidence favors Alexander’s thesis, the basis of which is the long standing AG resolution (1917 to 1967)

¹ Edith Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism*, vol. 1 (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989), 348.

² Of course, even from the sinking of the *Lusitania*, in 1915, a U.S. involvement was possible. President Wilson broke off official relations with Germany February 3, 1917; see, Hew Strachen, *The First World War*, vol. 1 (New York: Viking Press, 2003), 292-296, 343-354; H. P. Willmott, *World War I* (New York: Dorling Kindersley, 2003), 307; Frank Bartleman, *The Weekly Evangel*, August 10, 1915, 3, quoted in Anderson, *Disinherited*, 211.

which declared in the midst of the First World War:³ “We cannot conscientiously participate in war and armed resistance.” The supportive evidence is to be gleaned in an array of articles in defense of pacifism in official AG publications.⁴

D.2 The Pacifism of the Early PAW

The pacifist position of the PAW, as articulated in 1917, appears to have been even stronger than the AG’s, with the position statements inserted directly into the “Article of Faith” as Articles XII and XIII. In fact, two of the strongest pacifists in the movement, William Booth-Clibborn and Frank Bartleman, became influential Oneness advocates. William Booth-Clibborn’s official role as a PAW “General Field Superintendent” insured his direct participation in the official wording of the PAW pacifist statements.⁵ The wording was as follows:

ARTICLE XII MAL TREATMENT we should not ‘avenge ourselves’ Neither shall we take up any weapon of defense to slay another, whether in our own defense or in the defense of others We should rather suffer wrong than to do wrong.

ARTICLE XIII CIVIL GOVERNMENT it is our duty to be in obedience to all requirements of the laws that are not contrary to the word of God, and that does (sic) not force one to the violation of the sixth commandment by bearing arms, or going to war.⁶

³ Paul Alexander, *Peace to War: Shifting Allegiances in the Assemblies of God* (Telford, PA: Cascadia Publishing Co., 2009), 36, 38, 41; cf. Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 243, 245, 347.

⁴ Alexander, *Peace to War*, 30, 41, 46, 152; cf. Anderson, *Disinherited*, 199-203. The resolution appeared in the August 4, 1917 issue of the *The Weekly Evangel*, “The Pentecostal Movement and Conscription Law,” 6, as well as the *1917 General Council Minutes*, 11-12. See, also, AG instructions for filing forms for “conscientious objection” in *The Weekly Evangel*, “Concerning Registration for Military Service,” June 2, 1917, 8.

⁵ William K. Kay and Anne E. Dyer, *Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies*, (London: SCM Press, 2004), 241-243; Alexander, *Peace*, 142-146. One reader of *The Weekly Evangel* condemned Bartleman as “a German first and a Christian afterwards,” August 14, 1915, 2. Emphasis on pacifism occurred periodically in Oneness publications, see, William Booth-Clibborn, “Should A Christian Physically Defend Himself,” *Meat in Due Season*, June 1916, vol. 1, no. 13, 2; cf., also, William Booth-Clibborn’s ad for his father’s book, *Blood Against Blood* by Arthur Sidney Booth-Clibborn, in *Meat in Due Season*, December 1915, vol. 1, no. 9, 3.

⁶ FBI File#55234, *1917 PAW Minute Book*, Articles of Faith,” 29, 32, 82.

The initial test of the PAW's resolve to uphold its convictions came with the Conscription Act of May 1917, which immediately instituted the draft and inducted millions of service men. As Alexander points out, intolerance and censorship of pacifism ran high during World War 1, with the Bureau of Investigation (now the FBI) investigating over a million people, organizations, or publications, including Charles Mason and COGIC and J. J. Frazee and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.⁷

D.3 The 1917 Bureau of Investigation Probe of PAW Pacifism

The PAW's pacifist stance was the major reason for the FBI probe, but the investigation was, at least partially, linked to the PAW method of credentialing, as well as the wrongful conscription and later incarceration of an El Paso, Texas pastor, Homer J. Sherman, and one of his local ministers, J. W. Hitch. The PAW officially petitioned for their immediate discharge on the grounds of religious exemption. The (Federal) Bureau of Investigation, in conjunction with the War Department, initiated a probe of PAW activities in mid-1917.⁸

After a year of data collection, interviews, and reports, in March of 1918, two spies, unknown to each other, were assigned to spy on the El Paso church, although, according to the final report, the agents found "nothing actionable." But, in the process,

⁷ Hereafter, FBI; Alexander, *Peace*, 74, 132.

⁸ FBI Report #55234, Publ. #M1085; The BI became the FBI in 1935. The file includes the following groupings of documents: (1) a 1917-1918 PAW Minute Book (28-36, 71-79), (2) PAW documentation for exemption (Frazee, Hall, El Paso Petition, 1915 Credentials, Frazee Letter to Sherman, etc.) with (F)BI and War Department recommendations or response letters (19-26), (3) a series of letters to and from the (F)BI inquiring about and reporting on the investigation of the PAW's pacifist claims (2-4, 15-18, 27, 80-84), (4) (F)BI Agent 'Hudson' Report on Frazee and the headquarters, August 8, 9, and 28, 1917, Portland, Oregon (7-14), (5) (F)BI Agent 'Jones' Report, El Paso, Texas on H. J. Sherman, March 1918, with supporting (repeat) documents (85-92), (6) 1st 'Spying' Report (part one), Agent Jones, March 14, 1918, PAW church in El Paso, "Mrs. Mary Tinguly" pastor (93-97), (7) 2nd 'Spying' Report (part two), March 25, 1918 El Paso (98-103), (8) a file on W. J. Robinson's book, *A Voice in the Wilderness*,⁸ mistakenly linked to the PAW (5-6, 37-70), and (9) a brief series of generic letters of complaint and reply regarding Pentecostal pacifism (104-108).

the agents were ordered to “join” the assembly, which required being “baptized into the ‘faith’.” They ultimately concluded that no verification of anti-government activity could be determined. Instead, the pastor, Mrs. Tinguely, had “opened the Bible and read in it some place where it says that we are to work with the Government and help them in every way... and not to lead them away from their duty as they see it.”⁹

The agents, in order to quickly gain necessary confidence and access, found it necessary to infiltrate the altars as ‘seekers,’ and were quite descriptive of their experiences:

They do speak with other tongues at the meetings, and some twist under the Power of God. I have seen this with my own eyes, so I know it is true, and the Power of God is very strong in all these members of Pentecostal (sic) I went forward, and they tried to pray me thru to God and all they didn't try to do is not worth talking about, but somehow I came out O.K.”

“Mrs. Tinguely and another woman tried to preach but were constantly interrupted by other members, who would suddenly jump out of their seats, swing their arms, do a hop scotch and scream. Once, when several of them were howling, Mrs. Tinguely jumped on to the platform, uttered several blood curdling war-whoops, then she pulled off a ‘Tinguely Tango’ that would make Ruth St. Dennis ashamed to show her face.”

“As soon as they were through howling over me, I tried to corner Mrs. Tinguely for a little chat, but she was so enraptured that she could only howl and jabber in the unknown tongue (which sounds very much like Arabic). One young fellow was laid out on the floor, and it took a lot of ‘hokus pokus’ work to call his spirit back to earth. As soon as he came out of the trance, everyone went home.”¹⁰

Sherman’s military conscription was most definitely a mistake, in that he had been, since 1915, a duly licensed PAW minister. Ample verification is to be found on the front page report of *Meat in Due Season*, long before the 1917 draft, highlighting, in Sherman’s own words, the colorful ministry of this El Paso pastor and missionary to Mexico. “Our lives have been threatened,” Sherman testified. “We have been beaten and

⁹ FBI File#55234, 98, 96.

¹⁰ FBI File#55234, 101-103; see, also, “El Paso, Texas, Mrs. Tinguely,” *Meat in Due Season*, November 1918, vol. 2, no. 4, 1.

stoned.” He added, amidst “great persecution,” the church had even been “set on fire.” The powers that be were accustomed to evaluating the validity of “regular” ministry, yet were quite ill-prepared to acknowledge such an irregular model as a genuine pastor. Sherman, too, was a bi-vocational pastor, who, therefore, also worked as a “motorman” on a streetcar.¹¹

D.3 The Role of Frazee and Haywood in the FBI Probe of PAW Pacifism

Frazee signed the critically important registration letter for verification of PAW exemption, June 22, 1917, to the Provost General, “requesting that Ministers and Members” of the PAW “be given due recognition before any exemption board.”¹² But Frazee readily admitted to the FBI that it was actually Haywood who had written the letter, whose only official position was that of the somewhat nonspecific role of “General Field Superintendent.”¹³ Haywood’s superb letter, nonetheless, prompted the response

¹¹ Eld. H. J. Sherman, “Report from El Paso, Texas,” *Meat in Due Season*, February 1917, vol. 1, no. 16, 1; Bro. Dutcher, “El Paso, Texas,” *Meat in Due Season*, March 1917, vol. 2, no. 1, 1. FBI File#55234, 92, 86; Sherman was “arrested,” 85, and negative recommendations suggested that he “should be tried” and that he was not a “regular ordained minister,” 25. (F)BI guidelines found it difficult to validate unconventional Pentecostal ministerial realities. PAW ordination was deemed “a very easy matter,” and, thus, too easy, 18, J. C. Fisher, Captain, National Army, February 26, 1918. By January 1918 Haywood could report to the PAW “definite information... that all ministers are exempt from draft for military service,” *1918 PAW Minutes, Meat in Due Season*, February 1918, 2. Sherman’s induction was in October or November 1917.

¹² On the other hand, PAW ministers, such as B. L. Fitzpatrick, served their country in battle throughout the duration of the war. Fitzpatrick, a White minister from Haywood’s own church, had his letters published in *The Voice in the Wilderness* in July 1918, from “somewhere in France,” directly “From the Battlefield.” Pvt. Bracken L. Fitzpatrick, “From the Battlefield,” *The Voice in the Wilderness*, no. 24, October(?) 1918, 1. See, also, Wacker, *Heaven Below*, 78, citing *The Voice in the Wilderness*, vol. 2, no. 13, 1923, 9, in which Fitzpatrick is invited to settle a disagreement about the Godhead “in...the back” of the church, while another man “put his fist in my face”! Fitzpatrick, b. July 20, 1893, Caucasian, served as an office clerk for Haywood in 1917, and is listed as a PAW minister residing with the Haywood’s in 1919, *WWI Draft Registration Card 1917-1918, 1919 PAW Minute Book*, 14.

¹³ At least as early as 1914 Haywood was an “officer” of the PAW, known as a “General Field Superintendent.” By 1917 the fourteen U.S. “Field Missionary Superintendents” appears to have functioned as a governing and advisory board, and possibly as a world evangelism commission, of sorts, FBI File#55234, *1917 PAW Minute*

that “they (the PAW) seem to be well advised,” referring to Haywood’s insightful quotation in the letter of National Bill H. R. 3545, Section 4, 65th Congress:

All regular and duly ordained Ministers of religion, students who at the time of the approval of this Act are preparing for the ministry in recognized theological, or divinity schools, and any person found to be a member of any well-recognized religious sect or organization at present organized and existing and whose creed or principle forbids its members to participate in war in any form, and whose religious conviction is against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed and principle of said religious organization, shall be exempted from Military service.¹⁴

Nevertheless, some FBI reports expressed doubts as to the validity of the PAW for varying reasons, including reservations regarding Frazee’s “very poor circumstances” and residence which appeared to be “little more than a shack.” In August 1917, appearances were making it difficult for an agent to submit an approving verification of PAW validity. Not only had he interviewed Trotter, who had left the PAW under Frazee, but he was incredulous regarding Frazee’s own position, being, as it appeared to him, without status, and “an old man” with little “authority.” As if to top it off the agent adds: “Frazee is at present confined to his bed with a broken leg.”¹⁵ These additional health complications, at any age, with his handicap and wheelchair confinement, would have been challenging, indeed.

Book, 29. Cf., “Field” and the five additional “Mission” superintendents, which included “Mrs. J. E. Clark,” India; *Meat in Due Season*, “To the Jew First,” March 1917, vol. 2, no. 1, 1, the earliest of the rare references in the periodical to the PAW; *The Weekly Evangel*, March 1914, 1, in which Bell calls them the “officers” of the PAW, mentioning Frazee, Haywood, Ewart, McAlister and “others.”

¹⁴ FBI File#55234, Hudson Report 8-1917, 7-9, Byron Report 3-1918, 81-82; The August 1917 Hudson Report questioned the significance of Frazee’s signature, as head of the organization, under which appeared “per GTH,” due to the fact it had “actually been written by Elder G. T. Haywood.” Evidently, Haywood, but not John Mautz, secretary of the PAW, assisted Frazee with registration and in responding to investigation requirements.

¹⁵ FBI File#55234, Hudson Report, 7, 9, 14. Frazee apparently chose not to divulge the nature of his lifelong disability.

The weight of appearances, just three months later, prompted a November War Department memo to the Department of Justice to the effect that the PAW may be merely an “alleged religious organization,” comprised of assemblies “which apparently are following the policy of ordaining many new ministers in order to enable such persons to evade the provisions of the Selective Service Law.”¹⁶ This initial concern arose due to its policy of surrendering credentials for replacement, which, for Sherman, occurred in conjunction with his conscription. In addition, the Bureau also confused an anti-government journal by William J. Robinson, *A Voice in the Wilderness*, which had been banned, with Haywood’s monthly periodical.¹⁷

¹⁶ FBI File#55234, 4, 91-92; By February 1918 Sherman was in “confinement for disobedience of orders,” “disloyal statements against the government,” and “preaching to other men and advising them not to obey any military orders whatsoever,” FBI File#55234, 18.

¹⁷ FBI File#55234, 5-6, 37-70; Robinson’s lengthy work comprised 36 of the total 108 pages of the PAW FBI file. Robinson’s journal first appeared September 1917, see, Walter J. Lear, “U.S. Health Professionals Oppose War,” *Social Medicine*, vol. 2, no. 3, July 2007, 131.

Appendix E

High Profile Rejection and Defection Impacting Early Oneness Pentecostalism *L. V. Roberts, B. F. Lawrence, R. E. McAlister, and the Case of E. N. Bell,*

E.1 The Distinctive Effect of L. V. Roberts' Defection in Indianapolis

The most startling of the defections for the fledgling movement in the early years was that of Indianapolis' own L. V. Roberts in 1919. Roberts, unlike E. N. Bell, was deeply involved in the defense and expansion of the movement. The rare photo of the rebaptism of Roberts and his entire all-White church, March 6, 1915, by Glenn Cook, is the quintessential symbol of the movement's early success. *Charisma* used a redigitalized version of this famed photograph as the featured visual in the Oneness section of its special centennial Azusa Street book in 2006.¹

Lineaus V. Roberts was born September 1878 in Bowling Green, Ohio and reared on the farm, but, by 1900, was a steel plant machinist in Mifflin, and had married Idella ("Della" Patterson) in the late 1890's.² His younger sister, Myrtle Ellen, married neighbor James A. Frush who was one year L. V.'s senior. The Frushes, along with her brother David Roberts, became staunch Oneness advocates in Newark, Ohio. Though still listed as a "farmer" in Ohio as late as 1910, Roberts' Spirit baptism occurred sometime soon thereafter, probably in connection with Glenn A. Cook's ministry, whose family was originally from Ohio, as well.³

¹ *The Azusa Street Revival: The Holy Spirit in America*, Special Centennial Edition (Lake Mary, FL: Charisma House, 2006), 47. In spite of Roberts' statements, it has been suggested, based on oral history, that Roberts' defection did not indicate a return to either Trinitarianism or a rejection of Jesus' Name baptism, Larry Booker Interview, Rialto, California, February 2009.

² Alternately, "Elineas," *1910 U.S. Census*, Bowling Green, OH, 1B; *1880 U.S. Census*, Bowling Green, OH, 17A; *1900 U.S. Census*, Mifflin, OH, 16A; Della's record appears, though, in the *1900 U.S. Census*, Franklin, OH, 6A. Bowling Green is due south of Toledo, approximately 200 miles east of Indianapolis.

³ James A. Frush (1867?-1944) was first with the PAW, then the PAJC, and later with the Apostolic Ministerial Alliance, cf., "James A. Frush," *Historical News*, Summer

Roberts came to Indianapolis in January 1913 and took charge of the New Jersey Avenue assembly which had been established by Cook, although he soon moved the growing congregation to property on Roosevelt Street and the church then became Oak Hill Tabernacle.⁴ Two years later in February and March 1915, Glenn Cook was invited by pastor L. V. Roberts to preach the Oneness message in his Indianapolis church, where he found a fantastically receptive audience. After his baptism Roberts became, in many ways, the golden boy of the expanding movement. It would be just four months later that Bell would invite Roberts himself to present the Oneness message at the Tennessee camp meeting. Following Roberts' preaching Bell promptly responded and submitted to rebaptism in Jesus' Name.

Roberts became one of the truly notable defenders of the Oneness message, and was, evidently, one of the first to associate the new movement with the prophetic Petrine expression "the present truth" from 2 Peter 1:12. In fact, early in 1916, Roberts' zeal to present the message as "a revelation of who Jesus Christ is," prompted him to begin publication of his own Oneness periodical, which he aptly called *The Present Truth*. The stated purpose for the paper was to reprint many of the exceptional, major Oneness articles, and, therefore, be able to provide their even wider distribution for the defense of the Jesus' Name message.⁵

2003, 2; 1920 *U.S. Census*, Newark, OH, 10B, with his birth in 1878, about the same age as Roberts; "McCreary Family Tree," by 'janimc,' under the "James Absolom Frush" listing, www.ancestry.com. Frush, as late as 1910, who was still a neighbor to L. V. Roberts in Bowling Green, was listed as a photographer with his "own gallery," see, 1910 *U.S. Census*, Bowling Green, OH, 1B.

⁴ "Fresh Blaze in Indianapolis," *Word and Witness*, February 20, 1913, 3.

⁵ See, *The Present Truth*, L. V. Roberts, "The Present Truth," January 1916, vol. 1, no. 1, 1, with eight pages, rather than the typical four. It is likely that Roberts produced at least one other issue of this periodical, later in 1916, cf., Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 98, which references *The Present Truth*, and an article which is not readily identified in the extant first edition.

The only known extant issue of *The Present Truth*, which is the first issue, contains eight pages rather than the usual four. The first edition contributors, in fact, were a Oneness who's who which included four articles written by Roberts, four by Ewart, and three by Cook, as well as articles by Haywood, Harris, Westfield, Studd, Floyd, Small, Argue, Morse, Schaepe, H. O. Scott, and B. S. Moore.

At least as early as 1917, Roberts was listed as a 'Field Superintendent' of the pre-merger PAW and again in the January 1918 merger minutes. Roberts, unlike Ewart, Hall, Schaepe, and others, in addition to belonging to the PAW, does not appear to have also joined the GAAA. Interestingly, the *Weekly Evangel* reported on Roberts' A. G. Garr revival in early 1917, about which *Meat in Due Season* noted that "all differences on doctrinal lines were kept out of the services." But *The Weekly Evangel*, in language almost verbatim to Roberts' revival ad about Garr, purported "a new era is dawning" in which "there is an inclination on the part of the very leaders in the dissention to drop all issues and go in for the salvation of souls."⁶

By 1919, Haywood's closest neighboring pastor, at whose church he had first heard the full presentation of the Oneness message, L. V. Roberts, was no longer listed with the PAW. Instead, he was credentialed with the Assemblies of God in 1920, but within a few years also dropped from their rosters. Although the 1930 census still listed him as a minister Roberts appears to have withdrawn from credentialed ministry evidently for undisclosed personal reasons.⁷

In the final unfolding drama, Roberts was publicly critical of Haywood's attempt in *The Voice in the Wilderness* and Opperman in *The Blessed Truth* to explain the

⁶ "Minutes," *Meat in Due Season*, February 1918, 4; "Twenty-Five Receive Holy Spirit in Indianapolis," *The Weekly Evangel*, January 20, 1917, 15; *Meat in Due Season*, "A. G. Garr Revival," February 1917, 1; "Controversy Languishes—Evangelism Spreading," *The Weekly Evangel*, June 9, 1917, 7.

⁷ 1930 U.S. Census, Indianapolis, IN, 5B, living on the 4300 block of 30th Street.

defection to their Oneness comrades. Roberts, evidently, took exception to the Haywood comments, but did not respond. Much later, with the 1921 AG convention due to be held in Tomlinson Hall in Indianapolis, Roberts published a thorough renunciation of his ties to the Oneness movement in *The Pentecostal Evangel* and, at that point, “corrected” Haywood’s previous remarks.⁸

According to his later explanations, although Roberts only *officially* broke with the movement in “October 1919,” at “their” convention, he explains that he had actually “taken no active part in the new issue movement since the summer of 1918.” This was precisely the time of Frazee’s withdrawal from the PAW. Roberts had attended the 1919 PAW Convention, at which time he “officially” broke with the organization.

I feel to make this statement: I was connected with the ‘Pentecostal Assemblies of the World’ for several years when the headquarters were in Portland, Oregon, and continued with them for sometime after they moved to Indianapolis. But when they made an issue out of water baptism in the name of Jesus only, and for the remission of sins, and also got into the delusion of calling Jesus, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and tried to make him all there was of God, I absolutely took my stand against them....⁹

Of course, his rebaptism, in and of itself, had constituted making an issue of baptism in a context in which baptism was the issue. Roberts, too, had been publishing his own theological views, rather clearly and publicly, in which he strongly propagated the Oneness position in his own publication. Early in 1916, in fact, he had already begun compiling and publishing one of the most succinct and compelling collections of written defenses of the movement to-date in *The Present Truth*. He wrote, for example: (1) The “NEW BIRTH” being “composed of WATER and SPIRIT,” (2) the “sad mistake... to teach that there are three individual and separate persons in the Godhead,,” and (3) “Jesus is the Father as well as the Son.”

⁸ L. V. Roberts, “A Statement,” *The Pentecostal Evangel*, February 19, 1921, 23; Whether or not Roberts’ maintained this nuanced stance indefinitely is not known.

⁹ L. V. Roberts, “A Statement,” *The Pentecostal Evangel*, February 19, 1921, 23.

From the following personal editorial inserts by Roberts in *The Present Truth* he presented a broadened and clarified theological perspective:

They saw that to baptize according to Acts 2:38 they would do away with the doctrine of ‘second work of grace;’ it would bring up the question of the Trinity; it would question a man’s salvation without the ‘gift of the Holy Ghost,’ and make water baptism an essential to salvation. Hence, seeing these giants they returned, shaking their heads, not able to go up and possess the land. Now ... not afraid¹⁰

Therefore, Roberts’ earlier Oneness position was quite clear: “The explanation is this: *Jesus* was in Heaven in His divinity as the Father; on earth in His humanity as the Son of Man or Son of God; ascending and descending in Spirit form as the Lord the Spirit.”¹¹ The assumption of the *Vision of the Disinherited* that Roberts must not have been Oneness, that not even the movement had yet “unambiguously committed” to the Oneness theological position, makes too much of Roberts’ significance and fails to take his own theological ‘trail’ into account.¹²

After the Assemblies of God convention in Indianapolis, Roberts decided by mid-1921 to sell at least a portion of the Roosevelt Avenue property to the PAW for use as a headquarters. The church, Oak Hill Tabernacle, was sold to another Indianapolis Oneness mission and pastor, T. C. Davis, who became the pastor of Roberts’ remaining ‘Oneness’ members. Davis’ Indianapolis success and prestige as the heir to the Oak Hill church secured him an important future role in the movement.¹³

E.2 B. F. Lawrence – *The Apostolic Faith Restored*

The impact of these major losses, whether local or national, was amplified, too, by these dispiriting corporate and individual defections, many of which were highly visible

¹⁰ *The Present Truth*: Winifred Westfield, “What Is Truth?” 1-2; F. J. Ewart, “The One Great Experience,” 2; G. T. Haywood, “The One True God,” 3; L. V. Roberts, “They Saw Giants Over There,” 4, which are comments included with Roberts’ editorial captions, articles, and comments.

¹¹ L. V. Roberts, *The Present Truth*, “The Present Truth,” 1.

¹² Anderson, *Disinherited*, 181, 279, n. 22.

¹³ Tyson, *Early Pentecostal Revival*, 209; Tyson, *Before I Sleep*, 47.

and regularly touted as ample evidence of what oppositional voices hoped for—general rejection of the movement. B. F. Lawrence, an up and coming young AG minister, was an excellent example of just such a defection.

As early as his teens, Lawrence ministered in Thayer, Missouri with “Mother” Lenora Barnes, whose daughter, “Imogene Eva,” he later married. Ralph M. Riggs, future AG Chairman, was Spirit filled in 1913 in Thayer while working with Lawrence, whom he’d met earlier that year when Lawrence was speaker for the Meridian, Mississippi camp meeting.¹⁴ Born 40 miles north of Indianapolis in Thorntown, Indiana, he was an AG charter member at 24 years of age, and, by 1916, he lived in Springfield and worked for the Assemblies of God. Lawrence gained considerable notoriety, too, when the AG published his history of the Pentecostal movement *The Apostolic Faith Restored*.¹⁵

Although Mother Barnes, who was also a noted lady evangelist, had become a prominent Oneness proponent herself, Lawrence had continued to oppose the movement. But, like Bell the previous year, Lawrence, in meetings in Hoxie, Arkansas in late 1916, suddenly and unexpectedly, “embraced the present message” and was rebaptized.¹⁶ Ewart, as usual, was quick to herald the good news via *Meat in Due Season*.

By August 1917, the AG *Weekly Evangel* ran a clarifying retraction. “I have been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus,” he explained, “but I have not departed from that conception (sic) of the Trinity.” With Imogene Lawrence’s mother a notable Oneness figure, it is more than likely that she, on the other hand, had embraced the Oneness

¹⁴ Wayne E. Warner, ed., *Touched By the Fire*, chapter entitled “Heaven On Earth,” by Ralph M Riggs (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1978), 36.

¹⁵ B. F. Lawrence, *The Apostolic Faith Restored* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1916); see, also, *1917 World War I Registration*, no. 199, in which Lawrence lists his birth as February 2, 1890.

¹⁶ Frank J. Ewart, “Great Revival in Hoxie, Ark.,” *Meat In Due Season*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1917, reported in *Historical News*, October-December 1994, vol. 14, no. 1, 1.

movement in its entirety. During the strain of these events and the episode espousing and denouncing Jesus' Name baptism, B. F. Lawrence lost his family. Although the *1920 U.S. Census* lists Imogene Lawrence as 'widowed,' the *1930 U.S. Census* specifically lists her as 'divorced.' Little else is known of Lawrence's life or ministry thereafter.¹⁷

E.3 The 1919 Rejection of the Movement by R. E. McAlister in Canada

Another stunning loss by publicized rejection of the movement was that of R. E. McAlister, from Cobden, Ontario. He had received Spirit baptism at Azusa in December 1906. McAlister preached the sermon on baptism at the Arroyo Seco, California camp meeting which ultimately ignited the Jesus' Name movement. Subsequently, from 1913 to 1919, he remained a key PAW leader and influenced the entire movement. The "pivotal role" in the establishment of Pentecostalism in Canada was played by McAlister, as well. But, then, after organizing what was to be the PAW of Canada, their intentions shifted in favor of Trinitarianism, and they reorganized, along with McAlister, as the Trinitarian PAOC in 1919.

McAlister recognized that Oneness Pentecostalism, by 1919, had lost its influence in mainstream Pentecostalism. Therefore, returning to 'the fold' that same year, he "formally renounced" the movement and became "a champion of orthodox trinitarianism (sic) among Canadian Pentecostals." As one means of explaining McAlister's many years of involvement in the Oneness movement, PAOC historians have intimated that the Oneness movement, at the outset, was more acceptable, and, only later, veered off into the unacceptable. The "heretical tendencies," writes Miller, "began to become more evident," and "only gradually did doctrinal aberrations develop."¹⁸

¹⁷ B. F. Lawrence, "Meat In Due Season Corrected," *The Weekly Evangel*, August 11, 1917, 9; *1920 U.S. Census*, Tulsa, OK, 5A; *1930 U.S. Census*, St. Louis, MO, 4A.

¹⁸ Thomas William Miller, *Canadian Pentecostalism: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994), 25, 62, 111, 65-66.

E.4 The Case of E. N. Bell – General Chairman of the Assemblies of God

Continued debate has characterized the events regarding the rebaptism in Jesus' Name of Assemblies of God General Chairman E. N. Bell. When Bell was rebaptized in Tennessee in July of 1915, L. V. Roberts, who baptized him, reported that he had "accepted the message and publicly announced before the camp" that he was ready to be baptized over. Roberts noted that Bell topped this news off with the *jeu d'esprit*—"and the sooner the better."¹⁹ This was certainly a major reversal from the position he had been so adamantly defending, and, though the flip-flop may have mostly involved rebaptism, many Oneness proponents were also equally convinced that his written position also clearly espoused the Oneness doctrine.²⁰

In the month just prior to his own rebaptism, he had published a stinging rebuke of the practice of *rebaptism* in an article entitled "The 'Acts' on Baptism in Christ's Name Only." Bell argued, among multiple reasons for opposing the practice, that it constituted turning your back on God. He added, "I cannot go back on my Lord like this."²¹ The ink from his lengthy rebuttal of rebaptism was scarcely dry, when suddenly and, to Oneness adherents at the time, incomprehensively, he was then rebaptized by L. V. Roberts.²²

Bell had only just predicted that the rebaptism issue was "now at high water mark," and had meticulously detailed his theological rejection of the "useless" practice.

¹⁹ L. V. Roberts, *Meat In Due Season*, "Bro. E. N. Bell Is Baptized," September 1915, vol. 1, no. 7, 4; Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 99.

²⁰ In the unedited Bell article, reproduced by Opperman, from a copy received from Flower (while serving as an AG General Presbyter), Bell continues to speak freely of the Trinity, "blessed be the Trinity," see, D. C. O. Opperman, "Brother Bell Is On Both Sides of Fence," *The Blessed Truth*, October 1, 1919, vol. 4, no. 18. Opperman's article appeared in response to Bell's article in *The Christian Evangel*, "The Great Battle for the Truth," August 9, 1919, 1-2.

²¹ E. N. Bell, "The 'Acts' on Baptism in Christ's Name Only," *The Weekly Evangel*, June 12, 1915, 1, 3; see, also, "The Sad New Issue," *Word and Witness*, June 1915, 3.

²² "Davis City Camp-Meeting Report," *Weekly Evangel*, August 28, 1915, 2; Floyd, "Interview," 59-60; Butler, *Oneness Pentecostalism*, 117, with Bell rebaptizing Goss.

With obvious intensity, Bell pointed out that rebaptism (1) constituted “the denial of the validity” of Trinity baptism, while, at the same time, (2) made a “conquest” of other Christians, even as it (3) “unchristianizes” them.

He was passionately opposed to the “error” of rebaptism, (4) not only because it constituted going “back on” God, but because (5) it was foolishness to insist that “only such and such words must be pronounced over the candidate.” Finally, he noted, *even when the insistence upon rebaptism is obeyed*, (6) “we cannot admit the person is any better baptized than before.”²³ Bell’s theology aside, for all his later protestations, it seems to make little sense for him to have invigorated the Oneness cause by seeking out baptism at their hand, yet protest under scrutiny that he had only done so for personal spiritual reasons.

Certainly, Bell’s rebaptism just a few months after the report of the events in Indianapolis, and directly on the heels of his own thorough rebuttal of rebaptism, truly shook the Assemblies of God. The hype was short lived, indeed, for Bell soon thoroughly renounced the Oneness movement and, to some extent, his own actions in seeking rebaptism. His high profile rebaptism was, at best, a short-lived victory. Soon afterwards, in fact, Bell would become one of the movement’s sharpest critics. His published renunciations resulted in confusion confounded as the disruptions caused by the movement escalated, and confusion over his personal position and actions has remained a puzzlement and source of debate.

Bell, indisputably, shocked his peers because his act of rebaptism in Jesus’ Name, regardless of the reason, conceded to a central tenet of the Oneness movement. Five years later as the AG Secretary he again attempted to explain himself, in a letter to Tennessee Oneness leader J. C. Brickey dated August 20, 1920. He succinctly articulated

²³ Bell, “The ‘Acts’ on Baptism in Christ’s Name Only,” *Weekly Evangel*, 1, 3.

his own reason for rebaptism and for rejecting Oneness rebaptism: “I could not conscientiously baptize,” he wrote, “in this way alone.”²⁴

Ewart published the account of Bell’s rebaptism, but made the awkward decision to run the biggest news of the year, not on the front, but on the back page of *Meat in Due Season*. By the time this article had appeared, September 1915, Bell was already backing away from the ‘new issue,’ sharply rebuking Ewart publicly for what was evidently a misunderstanding regarding whether or not Bell was to be a speaker at his upcoming October conference.²⁵ Bell obviously regretted that his own rebaptism, in and of itself, had been taken as an endorsement of the varied key aspects of the new movement and as an alignment against the AG majority.

The rapidity of Bell’s rejection of, and subsequent distancing from, the movement, especially his open season repudiation of the theology of the Oneness position which ensued, could not help but serve to confuse, discourage, and, ultimately, disillusion many. Conversely, Bell’s story and repeated published repudiations of the movement helped immensely to assure a Trinitarian victory in the Assemblies of God against the Oneness gains.²⁶ Ewart’s lament over Bell, for example, from the Oneness perspective was typical: “We do not want to say for the very good reason that we do not know, why

²⁴ “Letter from E. N. Bell to J. C. Brickey,” August 20, 1920, 1-4, also noting that (1) “an issue was made out of this matter” and a concern about (2) “many serious false doctrines associated with being baptized”; See, also, E. N. Bell, *The Truth About the Godhead with Comments on the Water Baptism Formula* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n. d.).

²⁵ “A Pentecostal Convention in Los Angeles,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 18, 1915, 4; E. N. Bell, “Meat in Due Season Corrected,” *Weekly Evangel*, September 18, 1915, 2; Cf., also, Reed, *In Jesus’ Name*, 151, n. 25.

²⁶ See, for example, E. N. Bell, “Bro. Bell on the Trinity,” *Weekly Evangel*, vol. 114, November 6, 1915, 1; *The Christian Evangel*, “The Great Controversy and Confusion,” September 6, 1919, 6-7.

Brother Bell after witnessing a good confession before the world, for a short time, *changed his mind* concerning this great truth.”²⁷

Floyd, who knew E. N. Bell well, has suggested that his misguided involvement with the Oneness movement had not merely gotten him in trouble theologically, but quickly jeopardized his long-cherished involvement with the publishing of *Word & Witness*. Therefore, having nipped his Oneness complicity in the bud and returned to the fold, Ewart quipped that Bell was “back in the same editorial chair” advocating that they “let people interpret the great commission to suit themselves.”²⁸

In 1918, even with the ‘win-lose’ outcome which accompanied the victory that marked the PAW at the merger with the GAAA, there was, nevertheless, a heightened anticipation of the prospects of truly fulfilling some of the movement’s most cherished dreams. Ewart later noted that many of them “felt the loss of fellowship keenly.” “Our motto was to keep sweet and let the other fellow do the fighting,” wrote Ewart.²⁹ In spite of setbacks, most were ‘holding their breath,’ as it were, with something akin to a ‘wait-and-see’ survival mechanism keeping reactionary responses to a minimum.

²⁷ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 55; italics added for emphasis.

²⁸ “Editorial,” *Meat In Due Season*, March 1917, vol. 2, no. 2, 2; Floyd, “Interview,” 59-64.

²⁹ Ewart, *Phenomenon*, 54.

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